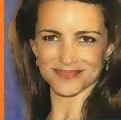


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MACLEANS | MAY 16, 2005 | 3

lack of physical maturity and the "high heels, up-due and slow dancing" "grotesque" scene of mind you write a short in "Baby bella of the ball" (Lift, May 2). As a 16-year-old, I am shocked by the sexuality of these very young girls. It felt like an overprotective mother. The fact that retailers rejoice in selling lip gloss to seven-year-olds and lip to nine-year-olds is not news, but why isn't this trend of child sexualisation sounding alarms?

Andy Ho, Ipswich

Scandal, now and then

Regarding your story, "Can I have more time?" (Politics, May 2) and the controversy swirling around the Gurney inquiry into Liberal responding, I think suspicion of corruption is enough to warrant a public referendum on the ability of the government to effectively govern. An immediate dissolution of Parliament and a subsequent election is necessary. Never mind waiting for public apathy to set in.

Don Cassano, Milton, Ont.

I am sick of the opposition parties only thinking of their chance for power and not caring about the one (in the taxpayer's) of another (unwanted) election. The opposition is not ideal is terrible, but let's at least allow the Gurney inquiry a chance to bring everything to light before judging.

Matthew Laft, Whitehorse

In response to Peter C. Newman's allegations in "We've seen this before" (Politics, May 2) about the Rivard scandal in Ontario during the 1980s, he is wrong when he states "Nelson, the Tory justice critic, [had] been given his own briefing by a frustrated RCMP officer who thought the whole incident was being swept under a political rug." At no time was given any briefing by any RCMP officer on any matter(s) related to what became known as the Rivard affair. The source of my information was never disclosed until 1989 when I wrote *The Housewife*. In Chapter 10, I discuss in some detail how grandmaster Paul MacBarratt and I gathered the evidence which was later disclosed in the House of Commons. While there are similarities, the Gurney inquiry is revealing evidence for more widespread and damaging to our country than the Rivard affair, which involved a single instance of bribery.

Bill McEwen, Quetz Lake, Yukon

WHAT WON'T APPEAR IN MY NEXT PARADISE

In the future, let no one say, 'She thinks like a man'

In 1918, the journalist Christina McCall was commissioned by her former husband, the editor and academic Stephen Clarkson, to imagine the world 50 years hence. She produced one of the most amusing and trenchant essays of her brilliant career. A long-time contributor and former editor at *Maclean's*, McCall died recently at age 76. Clarkson read the essay at her wake. It is reprinted here with his permission.

WHEN YOU GET right down to it—staring at the blank paper, plumbing the depths of the even bleaker imagination, reviving forgotten fantasies left over from world-beating papers in college common rooms—it soon becomes obvious that the possibility of a paradise for women of any age and general persuasion is pretty bloody difficult, if not to say impossible.

For I believe, so that mankind generation of the fifties, that unconscious conspiracy of the cool who were born in the post just before the Second World War, educated on the expectation of equal rights, confronted by the unending discrimination and the double standard, too young to have been galloped into believing in the feminist mystique (as was the generation of the forties for whom happiness was supposedly a man, four children on three levels, Blinks starting, real pearls and grand dame at the Victoria College Alumnae annual bridge) but too old and unshameful admission, too liberal to be affected by the Status, Once-again-the-Capitalist-Imperialist-Phobic-Security-Capitalist of the new women's liberation movement.

If possible to the uncertainties of my whole generation (my own specific experience—too many dues paid to feminism in the form of five years spent on a women's magazine writing such mind blowers as *Why Can't We Trust Married Women Like People?* and *Working Women Are Here To Stay!*—you realize that it would be paradise enough

for me if by 2010 A.D. people had simply stopped talking about women as though we were a national problem like the Indians and the surplus of wheat.

In brief, it's far easier to describe what my utopia won't be like than what it will and to say that everything will be gravy half a century from now.

■ All women's organizations, including women's leagues, women's press clubs, associations of women editors, women's Christian temperance societies and all Old



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LATE WORD

Girls' associations everywhere (as well as all schools that produce Old Girls) either have ceased to exist or have amalgamated with similar men's groups so that the Elks and the Future Stars, the Sheroes and the Daughters of Empire will lie down together like the lion and the lamb, donating their finances and raising their children in blissful sexual community.

• Betty Friedman and her ladies of NOW are all sleeping securely underground in some corner of Westchester County, happy in the knowledge they were lowered there by female groovediggers eating union stale; New Female Nigel Rockefeller is skipping cocaine in the First National City Bank of New York, having long since abandoned the lecture chair, not to be taken and President Now; Pierre Elliott Trudeau and Julia Verlyn LaMarche belong to the same branch of Swingers International; the queenmother New Woman, Baby Jane Holzer has married the garrisoned New Man, Andy Warhol; and Lionel Tiger is spending his declining days in a leatherboard chair in the McGill Faculty Club, exclaiming occasionally and murmuring constantly, "Males bond... males bond... males bond."

• No one ever says "She thinks like a man," "She's a person in her own right" or "A roar to the school—God bless him," or talks about penis envy, castration complex, imposter and a confusion of rules, or uses such phrases as "my better half" or such words as postmen, sculptress, and areas and housewife. (It's a funny thing about the word housewife. I've seen it turn sweet and reasonable women into sullen shrines. A famous Canadian writer-editor not very long ago interposed a disarming conciliatory about inflation he was having with my husband to say kindly to me, "Aren't you complaining about the price of chips like every other housewife in the country?") I wanted to shout, "Listen, I'm no housewife—I'll admit to being a hundred other things: mother, dresser, drink, wife, lover, mother, sometime journalist, one-time newspaperer, pen-tester, chair, lapsed Presbyterian, disenchanted housewife. But not a housewife. Never!" I didn't do it though I figured it would show a confusion of roles.

• No dear friend of mine—and no dear enemy either—will ever be found in my living

room complaining that the sun's going ahead in journalism/academia/scholarship/politics "just because I don't have b—s" (Come so that's a well-earned paradox it will be necessary to prove hellish b—s.) Instead, women will be able and willing to admit that in this best of all possible men's societies, they aren't going ahead because they're chronically long, hopelessly ill educated, severely disinterested or victimized by widespread prejudice against people over five feet eight.

• Publishers have abandoned forever magazines devoted exclusively to fashion, food, royalty and your child and no serious newspaper editor thinks that in publishing a whole section page of cooking and marketing trivia he's taken care of the interests of his female readers. This will mean that I'll have to give up collecting demerol headlines like "When Will Prince Charles Marry?" "Don't Lie: Hold on to Italian Orisons" and "Spiced Summer under a Big Black Sailor" a line which appeared once years ago in a fashion spread about hits and is still one of the four sentences I master to myself when I'm in total despair (The other three sentences come out of *Twelve Last*, madams, so hold your stony marinas.)

Last this appears entirely negative, I'll balance solemnly by stating that I do have a few positive ideas about what the next 50 years ideally will bring to women. I hope that by 2020 A.D. women will not have to consider choosing between

being wives/mothers and career women; that it will be possible and seem natural for them to be both (or one or the other) and not feeling guilty in uniformity, that employers and collectors will provide careers and jobs so that girls can get married early, work or learn part-time while their children are young, without the wearying herding such arrangements now impose, and return full time to work later if they want so, that we will have a society which, as Bruno Bettelheim said, "can afford to accommodate itself to the real intellectual and emotional needs of people, not just to the demands of economy and efficiency or of ancient prejudices"; a society in which women aren't, and don't even feel like oppressed minority, a society in which they are truly equal to men. That, out of course, the same

What it doesn't do hasn't been invented yet.



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Defence | Questions linger in the Chicoutimi debacle

A first sailing, a first wave, a first sea. A long inquiry into the death of submarine Lieut. Chris Saunders and the crippling of newly acquired HMCS Chicoutimi, arguably Canada's worst naval mishap in decades, came to a close on Tuesday. In fact, it goes out of inquiry to clear up and crew of any wrongdoing when the refurbished Chicoutimi caught fire off Island last October, while they were trying to fix a loose lock on the upper hatch. Still, while the 700-page report from the board of inquiry acts to close the book on the tragedy, some long-term questions remain.

The report calls Cmdr. Luc Pelletier's decision to have both hatches open while repairs were going on "reasonable and prudent" in that it was made to get the

A rainy evening clears Pelletier, below, of bad judgement, that leaves his career intact but his sub on a Halifax dry dock for up to two years



work done quickly. (It will not be reprimanded.) But the board also wants new operating procedures for conning towers developed and enforced. Then there's the question of how seaworthy the sub and Defence Minister Bill Graham defended the French refit—the floor government will not be asked to share any of the costs to fix the dry-docked Chicoutimi or its three sisters. That part of the \$10-to-\$15-million repair now underway is to make the electrical cables much more waterproof. The fire, which broke out when sea water soaked curtains at the captain's cabin, was so intense it melted two holes in the steel deck above. Lieut. Saunders, 32, had to pass through the acid black smoke on his way to the control room, his assigned post in the event of an emergency.

Quote of the week | "Why not require them all to wear a burka?" Govt. libtarians WILL HARRIS says a Texas bill to ban suggestive cheerleading in high schools reminds him of the Taliban

ScoreCard



ST. CATHARINES
Orlando my beloved. Dad reveals Kiera Horvath won't be coming home to the place of her crimes. Visitors should be unwelcome. Good news for most of us too, whatever her marital state after 12 years in prison, at least she can grasp the obvious.



AMERICAN IDOL
Let's see. Contestant Corey Clark gets invited back to judge Paula Abdul's house for a little, ahem, tutoring. He judges and fails. She has her spin doctor's sag him up and down. Not much to stabilize there.



DISFOOT
U.S. celebrities show they still care by taking time to watch a video of northern Malaysian earthquake victims. They're big bucks for it too. If it means exclusive B.C. news, make it all the way across. Pringles contest. Guess not as hot as people say.



VETS
Vet-ship ceremonies in Netherlands give aging Canadian veterans well-deserved moment to shine. As Germany's economy shadows on public life at home, images of war heroes beside comrades' graves remind us what stirring our country really means.



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THE 'MAD AS HELL' PLOY

TV's Peter Kent must know that moving from reporter to MP is not a slam dunk

THE COUNTRY'S newest politician hit the stage with a splash last week declaring that he was "mad as hell" and wouldn't take it anymore. Hardly an original line, as Peter Kent clearly knew when he borrowed it from the 1976 movie *Network*. But Kent, like the famous TV anchor in the movie who first uttered the words, made headlines with it, and on the day you enter politics, making headlines is certainly the object of the game.

Kent isn't the household name he used to be, but there's no doubt that he's a proud part of this country's journalistic history. There was a time, especially in the mid-70s, when he was one of the best, if not the best, television journalist anywhere in the broad world. His work for the CBC in Vietnam and Cambodia will stand as one of some of compelling and incisive, stories that clearly made a difference and affected the global view of the brutal wars in Southeast Asia. The years since have seen the former *Calculus* co-anchor in journalism in a variety of roles at different networks. He's also not been shy about the broadcasting business and regularly has his belief that the virtues of go-as-is broadcasting outweigh those offered by his old friends in the public broadcasting sector. But now he enters a new arena, one many journalists have stepped into before, some successfully, others not so.

Reporters, especially well-known ones, are often approached about running for office, and I'm sure that isn't Kent's first opportunity. In my 35 years in the business, I've had direct or indirect overtures to run for office from all the major parties. I've never been tempted.

I haven't heard from the (Sic Quebecois). I've never had the temptation to say yes. While I have nothing but admiration for those who get their lives on hold for public service, I know my limitations.

History, however, reads quite the rest of characters who have taken up the journalistic-to-political challenge. Among them, there is a list of success stories. *Globe* founder George Brown, writer-turned-politician William Lyon Mackenzie, René Lévesque, Pierre Trudeau, Gérard Pelletier, Jeanne Sauvé, Romano LeBlanc, Claude Ryan, Joe Clark, Ralph Klein, Pat Carney and Brian Robb, to name just a few. But success is far from a slam dunk. Just look at the losing records of parliamentary hopefuls Michael Voppy of the *Globe and Mail*, 1970s star CBC correspondence Ron Collier, Peter Worthington of the *Toronto Star*, Ottawa's best-known local news anchor, Mike Kepling, and, well, he'll have me for that, my colleague Rex Murphy.

So Kent shouldn't assume anything just yet. And something else he should keep in mind is to be careful about oversteering that quote from Howard Beale, the TV anchor who Peter Kent won an Oscar for portraying in *Network*. Beale was, to put it mildly, a bit of a wit, who suddenly decided to start showing his true self to his audience. That's what led to his now famous "I'm mad as hell—and I'm not going to take this anymore" on-air rant. Beale was deadly serious about what he was saying, but everyone else thought it was a great gimmick, and the rightly well-liked actor who followed made him largely popular. But gimmicks don't last forever. Eventually, Beale's bosses and his fans had had enough, and suddenly he was no more. Of course that was just a movie. Real life is different. Right?

Peter Macdonald is Chief Correspondent of CBC Television News and Anchor of the *Midweek*. To comment, email pmac@cbc.ca.

FaceTime

Awakening

For 16 years, Buffalo, N.Y., firefighter Donald Horvath, 44, was blind, mostly mute and with almost no memory. This from a brain injury he suffered when a roof collapsed on him while fighting a house fire in December 1995. Last week, he suddenly woke up, called for his wife and spent the next 24 hours excitedly catching up with his much-changed



family. Doctors said the improvement came three months after his meds were adjusted, and that while he has lost some hard-earned skills, nothing has matched that first, almost magical day.



Nitter's nurse

She is 53 now and lives comfortably in a seniors' home in northern Germany. Until recently, once her own family didn't need her, Nigel had been a witness to history a name in the Berlin bunker 60 years ago during Adolf Hitler's final days. Nigel's 2004 statement, said to be instrumental in determining the new dictator had taken his own life, was first declassified from CIA archives four years ago. But, much to their surprise, the German paper *Berliner Zeitung* and British's *Independent* newspaper found Nigel was still alive—and willing to talk. With the aid, was a clear point, but a natural affinity and "required no cash to be seen, he had

aged greedily in the last days, he gave the impression of a man at least 15 to 20 years older. He shook a good deal, working was difficult for him, his right side was still very much weakened as a result of the attempt on his life." Nigel was described as Hitler's new wife, his lover, "a completely colourless personality," but more concerned of "the brilliant" Angela Gorbals, even though Nigel could not dissuade her from "the madness" of poisoning her six children as the Allies closed in. At the end, life in the bunker was "outside normal reality," Nigel recalled. Asked why she hadn't told her diary before, she said: "I didn't want to report important."



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WORLD

AL-QAEDA The hunt continued for Osama bin Laden after Pakistan security agents, some disguised as women in burkas, captured Abu Faraj al-Libbi, a Libyan said to be al-Qaeda's number three. It was a coup in the war on terror—al-Libbi is reportedly the man through whom instructions went out to terrorists abroad. Meanwhile, U.S. forces reported killing at least 64 well-armed al-Qaeda and Taliban militants in a battle in southwestern Afghanistan.

IRAQ A suicide bomber rained fire with a line of police secrets in the usually peaceful Kurdish city of Irbil, then blew himself up, killing 60 Iraqis and wounding 150 others. A surge in violence has left over 270 Iraqis dead, many of them police or soldiers, since April 26 when the new cabinet was unveiled. In the U.S., meanwhile, a poll showed 57 percent of Americans still felt the Iraq war was not worth fighting.

ABU GHRAIB In a surprise move, a military judge threw out the guilty plea entered by U.S. Pfc. Lynndie England in her court-martial. The decision sent back to square one the trial of the woman photographed holding an Arab prisoner on a leash in



Baghdad's Abu Ghraib prison. England, 22, had pleaded guilty to mistreating prisoners. But at her sentencing hearing, Pfc. Charles Graner Jr.—divulged a long list of the abuse and reportedly the father of England's child—swore he had told her she was taking part in a training exercise for other guards. The judge said this changed the nature of her guilty plea because, in mid-2003, she had said that she knew what she was doing was wrong.

Meanwhile, the U.S. army demoted **Sgt. Gen. Jacob Karpas**, the head of the marine unit that was in charge of the Abu Ghraib jail. She is the only senior officer to be disciplined in the scandal.

MEDICAL RIGHTS Florida went to court to try to block a 13-year-old girl, in a state shelter, from getting an abortion. Her Gov. Jeb Bush decided not to pursue the highly charged matter after a judge ruled the girl has the right to terminate her pregnancy regardless of how her legal guardians feel.

An Ontario court ruled that a 14-year-old girl, Jehanah's, "Wanted from B.C.'s Okanagan Valley, arrest return to B.C. for arrest

treatment that could involve blood transfusions. A.B.C. Supreme Court judge had earlier ordered the treatment. But the teen said transfusions violate her religious beliefs. She sought an Ontario ruling so she could go to Buffalo, N.Y., for an alternative remedy.

HAVE UN doctors say Haiti's jailed former prime minister Yves Nepreane is hovering near death, after nearly three weeks into a second hunger strike. The 38-year-old Nepreane is refusing medical treatment until the new regime drops charges against him for organizing what is called a massacre of 90 opposition supporters in 2004.

KING OF POP After nearly 10 weeks in court, California prosecutors rested their case against pop-star Michael Jackson. It ended with them arguing the eccentric entertainer was US\$285 million in debt and spends at least US\$20 million more a year than he takes in. It's the defense's turn now to rebut allegations Jackson paid a 13-year-old boy with liquor and sexually coerced him in 2003, then intimidated his family.

HEALTH

CAUTIONARY Indonesians stepped up vaccinations after at least four confirmed cases of



FINAL INSPECTION

Pastor Hans, 54, in Felling, N.J., of Wal-Mart, that, near the Canadian War Cemetery in Brudenell, Somerset, 1,700 Canadian soldiers died in the final months of the Second World War, and the Dutch have never forgotten. Schoolchildren laid the graves of the Canadian fallen, and the year marks in the lives of those who applied their final moments as they marched through Belgium, where German forces surrendered in a Canadian counter 10 years ago.



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polio, the first outbreak in a decade. The strains are the same as those from Nigeria, where medical clinics had blamed vaccination was a U.S. plot against Muslims.

In Ontario, officials are monitoring a surge in rubella, or German measles, near London. At least 80 people have been infected in a farming community that, for religious reasons, had opted not to have children vaccinated against the once-common disease. Rubella can cause birth defects if contracted during pregnancy.

PHOTOPHobia University of Missouri researchers found that man-made chemicals in oral contraceptives (phthalates) and some food containers (bisphenol A) led to deformities in the prostate and urethra in mice.

Meanwhile, in one of the largest studies of its type, U.S. researchers concluded that mice with the least dangerous and localized form of prostate cancer do not require aggressive treatment and can survive for decades by merely monitoring their outcomes.

TEEN SEX Teens are doing it, Statistics Canada reported. The average age for losing one's virginity in Canada is 16½ years for both boys and girls, while about seven in eight had intercourse by 18. Some researchers suggested the number of teens having sex is down from previous studies. Others said they are seeing increases in sexually transmitted disease among young people because too many are still not using condoms.

BY PASCAL BLOU



AN ELECTION | BY THE NUMBERS

When it comes to wanting a strong election, Canadians are evenly divided: 45 per cent strongly or somewhat support the idea while 45 per cent oppose, says a MetLife/Maple Media poll. If there is one:

Prefer a Conservative majority	56
A Conservative minority	29
A Liberal majority	16
A Liberal minority	14
Don't know, none of the above	20

The good news for PM Paul Martin: only 5% of Canadians blame him for the sponsorship scandal.

SOURCE: METLIFE/Maple Media, 10-11-05. LAST SURVEY OF OPINION: 1-1-05.

CANADA

AIR INDIA The Crown will not appeal the acquittal of two Sikh—Bhagwant Singh Malik and Ajah Singh Bagri—who were found not guilty on March 16 of the Air India bombings 20 years ago. Prosecutors said they could find no legal grounds to challenge the demise of B.C. Justice Ian Bruce Josephson that some key witnesses could not be believed.

The RCMP, however, said it will not shut the books on the investigation, which has so far cost over \$180 million. It has 10 officers working full-time on the case. The Mounties are contemplating a new technique: using

anti-memory laws to haul potential witnesses before a judge, during the investigative phase, to compel their evidence.

DAYCARE Now it's Ontario's turn. Ontario passed a \$1.9-billion child care deal with the McGuinty government, similar to the ones already made with Manitoba and Saskatchewan. The plan will subsidize after-school and summer care for kids attending junior and senior kindergarten over five years. Alberta and Quebec have rejected a national scheme with strings attached.

TAR PONDS Long-promised plans to clean up the Sydney tar ponds in Cape Breton will be delayed, again. Having to prepare from large environmental groups, Ottawa ordered a full environmental study of the plan to burn sludge from the old steel mill in a high-temperature incinerator.

SAMESEX The federal government's gay marriage bill passed second reading—approval in principle—by a vote of 364 to 132 and will now go to committee for possible amendments. In a free vote, 35 Liberal backbenchers voted against the bill.

EXPULSED Three Grade 10 students at a private school for boys in Toronto were expelled, and four others suspended, for putting Noel Langtry and Vincent van Gogh paintings on an Internet chat site. One of those asked to leave Royal St. George's College was Jewish.

INTEREST Two Canadians, John Debra Guadagni and Pierre Beaudet, were among the people injured after an avalanche swept through their base camp. There was one of 23 people trying to scale the peak this spring. Last month, a man trying to be the oldest Canadian to climb Everest died of a heart attack, a few weeks after starting out.

A BRIDGE TOO COSTLY Lower tax dollars at work: the federal government will pay \$25 million to the Toronto Port Authority, a federal agency, for preliminary work on a controversial bridge that was once built to Toronto's harmful island airport. Mayor David Miller, who vigorously opposed the bridge and whose win forced the Liberals to scrap the plan, is now going after the port authority for up to \$27 million in back taxes.

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UPFRONT

Mary Janigan | ON THE ISSUES



OVER TROUBLED WATERS

A dispute about a North Dakota diversion project is poisoning Canada-U.S. relations

THERE HAS ALWAYS been something quietly reassuring about the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909. That quieted Republican, William Taft, was president when Canada and the U.S. inked their remarkable pact. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was prime minister—although Britain signed on behalf of its budding dominion. The two neighbours vowed to preserve the quality and quantity of their shared water, creating an International Joint Commission to arbitrate disputes. Through peace and war and the Depression, it has worked. 51 of its 53 joint references were resolved by mutual agreement.

And then along came North Dakota and its rash decision to lower Devils Lake. That done, belated so-called “soft-body” about 300 km from the Manitoba border has been flooding its banks since a cycle of rainy weather began in 1993: the volume of water, tainted with agricultural chemical run-off, has quadrupled. Up to now, it’s been North Dakota problem. In the late 1990s, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers launched a lengthy study of diversion proposals. Dissatisfied by the complexity and cost of the corps’ approach, North Dakota adopted its own unilateral, far cheaper project to dig an out-let canal to the Sheyenne River, a tributary

of the Red River that meanders north into Canada and Lake Winnipeg. The state proceeded without its own environmental study—and ignored many of the corps’ planned safeguards, including a pricey sand filter. Pumping starts in mid-June.

North Dakota’s neighbours, on both sides of the border, are baffled. In January 2004, citing the treaty, Canada asked the U.S. for a joint reference to the IJC. The eight Great Lakes states plus Missouri formerly agreed, warning of pollution and invasive species. Manitoba has even joined two local environmental groups before the North Dakota Supreme Court, challenging the water discharge permit. “This province historically has tried to avoid escalating disputes,” says University of Manitoba political scientist Paul Thomas. “Our actions now are a sign of cumulative frustration.”

So far, U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice has not replied to Canada’s request. Ottawa believes that would be the first refusal to make a reference in the treaty’s history. North Dakota argues that it is official to send the scheme to the IJC in 2002. But that was the army corps’ plan—and its environmental assessment wasn’t complete. So Canada said the reference was premature.

Now, Ottawa is scrambling to stop this potential catastrophe. (There are even two distinct fish passages in that ancient portfolio.) Ambassador Francis McKenna and Treasury Board President Bing Alcock have asked for a one-year delay for IJC scrutiny. The IJC’s Canadian chairman, Herb Gray, told *Maclean’s* that the commission would meet any day here in a referral. And Ottawa is rallying (law-suits, high-level legal action in Washington, such as a request for an injunction based on treaty violations).

But there are larger issues in this uncharted half of our 300 transboundary rivers flow south. And Montana is now objecting to B.C. plans to mine and under a vital riverbed. “If a state can violate the treaty, then a province can and all of a sudden you have kidnapped the treaty,” Alcock told *Maclean’s*. “We cannot allow this to happen.” North Dakota must not drown this 1909 landmark of civility in a chemical swamp. **M**

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Passages

DIED: Toronto beer policy Ted Atkinson—a master of the whip—was the first rider to win more than \$1 million in purses in a single season, in 1946. He rode 3,795 winners in a 21-year career, and died at his home in Virginia after a long illness at 88.

DIED: He was the original rainbow warrior, a term he hoped to invent. Bob Hunter, ex-hiptie, journalist, adventurer, newscaster and co-founder of Greenpeace, died in Toronto from prostate cancer. He was 63.



RETIRED: Toronto-based principal dancer Marlene Lum is leaving the National Ballet of Canada—her last dance was on the weekend—after recently turning 49. She spent time in 1984 in her first principal role, *Brianna*, and was to finish with that as well.

NOMINATIONS: The Conservatives gained a star candidate in the election that hasn’t yet been called: former *Globe/TV* anchor Peter Kent will take on Liberal minister Carolyn Bennett on the Toronto riding of St. Paul’s. But the NDP lost one: party elder Ted Broadbent (above) still be won’t run again in the Ottawa riding he snaggled from the Liberals because his ailing wife, Lucille, needs his help.



SELECTED: With a born cancer doc Robert Bell, 53, will be the new CEO of Toronto’s University Health Network, a \$1-billion enterprise that is Ontario’s largest hospital group. It includes Toronto General, Toronto Western and the Princess Margaret cancer hospital, where Bell was in charge.

PROTESTING: Soviet-era reformer Natan Sharansky, 57, quit the Israeli government where he was a junior minister for diaspora affairs. He objects to its plan to pull Jewish soldiers from the Gaza Strip and is off on a speaking tour to protest against it.

HARPER'S HIDDEN FOE

Layton's NDP could make gains in the West as the Conservatives' expense

JACK LAYTON IS SURROUNDED by images of his party's saints. To find his sixth-floor digs in the Centre Block of the Parliament Buildings, look for the gold wall plaque, just down the hall, marking what was once the office of Stanley Knowles. After you've knocked on the New Democratic Party leader's door, step in and turn left for the conference room, presided over by a big formal portrait of bearded J.S. Woodsworth, or right for Layton's compact private office, in which a smiling white bust of Tommy Douglas, complete with eyeglasses, is the focal point. Last week, Layton found himself in the shadow of a living icon, Ed Broadbent, who made the poignant announcement that his desire to devote

more time to his ailing wife meant he would not be running in the coming election.

All that history. Yet Layton and his top advisers are not in a mood to reflect much on their party's legacy—certainly not on the many frustrating years spent claiming moral authority, but precious little actual federal power. Instead, they prefer to concentrate on how, just now, their party looks to perform as it never has. Prime Minister Paul Martin, faced with seeing his minority defeated by the combined Conservative and Bloc Québécois forces, turned to Layton for a deal in late April to keep his government on life support. The resulting pact, which saw \$4.6 billion in NDP priorities like social housing and nation-

Harper's Tories. In last June's election, NDP candidates lost three ridings in Saskatchewan and three in British Columbia to the Conservatives by margins of fewer than 1,000 votes. Given polls that show an increasingly tight race nationally between Harper and Martin—with the likely outcome that one of them will head another minority—just a handful of NDP gains at the Conservatives' expense could make a decisive difference.

But Layton knows better than to look too confident. The New Democrats have been punished for premature optimism before. When Broadbent led the party in the 1980s, the NDP threatened to go from also-ran to serious power status, but failed to make a

breakthrough. After drifting through the 1990s, the party saw its prospects brighten with Layton's win in the 2003 leadership race. Yet in last spring's campaign, NDP support crashed in

the final days, with many voters swinging to the Liberals out of fear of a Conservative win, leaving Layton with a cushion of just 19 MPs—a frustrating one or two seats shy of holding the outright balance of power.

So Layton is cautious, admitting the Liberals might well get credit from voters for changes he himself has added to the budget. He hopes otherwise, of course. "More people are going to say, 'Actually, it turned out to be a good thing to have more New Democrats,'" Layton said in an interview. The fate of the budget bill, which is expected to be debated in the House this week and perhaps voted on the week after,



is too close to call. Opposition to it from the Bloc and Tories is nearly equal to the combined Liberal and NDP support, making it possible the House's three independent MPs could decide its fate. And since the vote is a confidence motion, rejection of the budget would mean the fall of the Liberal minority.

Trying to guess the outcome of the late June or early July decision that would follow has political readers poring over recent poll results. Media coverage of these soundings has instantly focused on the Liberals and Conservatives jockeying for top spot. But Allan Gregg, chairman of the Strategic Counsel, says his firm's April opinion survey antici-

ated some key signs for Layton's NDP. The poll found the Liberals supported by 30 per cent of Canadians, the Conservatives with 28 per cent, and the NDP with 18 per cent. But what caught Gregg's western eye was the swelling pool of potential switchers—Canadians who now plan to vote for an other party but might change to the NDP.

Of voters who currently back the Liberals, 42 per cent make the NDP their second choice, compared with 27 per cent who name the Tories as their next pick. Perhaps more surprisingly, of Conservative supporters, 22 per cent make the NDP their second choice, slightly higher than the 19

per cent who would switch to the Liberals, to B.C. and Saskatchewan, vote swings between NDP and Tory candidates are commonplace. But Gregg says he can't remember a time when the NDP was the top-second choice nationally. "The support

ability of the NDP to Liberal and Conservative voters has never been higher," he says.

If the NDP looks more palatable, Layton has to be given much of the credit. In that Strategic Counsel poll, 27 per cent gave their opinion of the leader had improved in the last year, compared with 23 per cent whose view of Harper had gotten better, and just 10 per cent who saw Martin in a more favourable light. "Layton doesn't look scary and, more importantly, he doesn't look weak, which has been part of this problem in the past," Gregg says. (Aan side thought, he notes that focus groups "always talk about his freckled noseache.")

Does Layton have the skills to build on the numbers? He is not a galvanizing campaigner. His secret strategy tends to convey earnestness, even weakness, rather than easy fluency. And then there is the matter of how to appeal to voters not as a potential prime minister—a goal that still looks well out of reach—but as a parliamentary power broker. The budget deal offers a practical example to put before voters: vote NDP to let us keep forcing the Liberals to the left. "The best way to put Liberals on their heels is to elect NDP MPs," says Janice Harsh, Layton's communications director.

But that argument will only work with voters who expect the Liberals to win. Not much point electing New Democrats to exert influence on Liberals if the Grits appear bound for defeat. If a Tory victory looks likely, Martin will undoubtedly again implore left-of-centre voters to rally to the Liberals. "It definitely did work last time," Layton carefully admits. But next time out, he adds, outrage over revelations in Justice John Gossage's inquiry might prevent a swing back to the Liberals. If he's right, Layton may manage to boost his vote not enough to win an influential role in the next Parliament—and one day a spot among those NDP leaders, for perjury, their old convictions into a new era of doubt.

THE question is whether Layton can parlay his now-found clout in the House into a bigger bang at the ballot box

ALMOST A WAY OF LIFE



Witnesses say illicit cash was flowing for years, PAUL WELLS reports



Beliveau, the guest offender, decided to tell us his secret: "It was not me and no one else."

SOMETIMES the testimony at the Gomery commission starts to run together in your head, and the significance of it isn't obvious until you pause and give your head a shake. I had one such light-bulb moment when Michel Beliveau, a former Liberal party official in Quebec, testified last last week.

Most of the reporters covering Gomery have been waiting for the arrival of Benoît Corbiel, who ran the Liberal party's Quebec wing during the 2000 election and who has been so good as to provide his testimony in a round of media interviews. Corbiel has said he received \$30,000 from the Gasparson ad firm to pay Liberal workers under the table during that 2000 campaign.

Sure enough, Gomery heard his work from a succession of these "fake volunteers"—long-serving, small-time Liberal political staffers, in the main. They found themselves facing a cash crunch for various reasons before they landed campaign jobs during the 2000 election. And they didn't ask many questions about why they were told to bill some company called "Compendio Communications Marketing" for "consulting services rendered" instead of the Liberal Party of Canada for election work.

So Corbiel's version of events, before he even took the stand, was starting to assume some surface plausibility. Then along comes Michel Beliveau, a stooped and ingratiating man who speaks softly and whose speech was dotted with ridiculous use of the word *doom*—roughly, "y'know"—as he tried to explain how rather impressive sums of cash wound up shuffling back and forth across the Liberal's Quebec wing during an election year.

Another brick in the wall of Corbiel's credibility, I thought briefly. And then I realized that Beliveau was talking about the

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1997 election, not Corbett's 2000 election.

The \$300,000 or so in \$20 and \$100 bills that Bellavia either received from Jacques Giguere, or heard that other Liberal organizers had received from that well-connected Liberal graphic designer, paid for in entirely different or under-the-table services than Corbett had described.

So it was all very good of Bellavia to fall on his sword—"It was me and no one else," he told Gomery. "I'm taking the responsibility." The fact remains that the techniques he described lived on after he had left his party post.

So far, the testimony Gomery has heard suggests that ad firms received far more money from the sponsorship program than the Liberal party received, in envelopes bulging with cash, from ad firms. Jacques Giguere alone pocketed about \$8 million in sponsorship subscriptions, yet Bellavia acknowledged less than a third of a million in kickbacks. So if the sponsorship program was designed from the outset as a clandestine secret of Liberal party financing, it seems to have been wildly inefficient.

But the picture that does emerge is hardly more edifying. Two generations of Liberal leadership in Quebec knew that whenever an election rolled around they could count on a few party hangers-on who'd got rich on the taxpayer dime. And Chuck Gault, the federal bureaucrat who'd done so much to make them rich, started drinking from the same firehose of taxpayer dollars the day after he retired from what is still quietly referred to as the "public service."

From 1997 to 2001, Gault and his successor Pierre Tremblay, now deceased, paid more than \$100 million in production fees and commissions to firms run by men who have since joined the Gomery hit parade—Paul Coffin, Jean Brault, Gilles-André Gosselin, Jean Laflair, Claude Rivest and others. Gault arrived on Aug. 31, 1999. The next day he created Onco Communications, from the Spanish word for "gold."

Over the next three years he was paid more than \$1 million from many of the same firms for work that often bore remarkably little fruit. He got \$122,731 from Groupama, for instance, to look for a potential buyer for that firm. He didn't find one. From Communications Coffin, \$20,600 to find private sponsors for Gault Pro. He never found any.

The Chuck Gault who made a return



This time, Gault blamed the politicians.

appearance before Gomery last week is, therefore, a late arrival to the ranks of the corrupt. In earlier appearances he portrayed himself as the election-sinker who created the program's smooth operation, all in the name of national unity. The second and third elements of that line of argument have since been roughed up a bit—the program wasn't smooth and we're not particularly united. So Gault abandoned the firm altogether. Turns out he wasn't making the decision after all.

"The government in power will design the policy to arrive to its end," he told

GUITÉ and his successor paid more than \$100 million to firms run by men who have since entered the Gomery hit parade

Gomery, explaining how the newly elected Liberals changed the rules of government communications policy so that simply following those rules would ensure that Liberal-associated firms got the contracts.

So it wasn't Gault's decision, but that of Jean Pelletier and Jean Charle in Jean Chrétien's Prime Minister's Office, to spend \$9 million on a TV program about Canada that was broadcast only in China. "There were not too many sovereignty in China," Gomery remarked.

It wasn't Gault's decision, but that of Alliance Gagliano, that plaque should be installed in taxpayer expense in Gagliano's native Italy. The minister left "specific instructions to make sure there are no [paper] trails," Gault said. It was "just poor cut-throats"—not quite cricket—but Gault did so he was told.

The picture that emerges from all this fits somewhere between the worst case the Liberals' political opponents have been making—a systematic machine of party-wide corruption—and the minimal case the Liberals have tried to advance. Gault's one attempt to rope Paul Martin into all of this was spectacularly ineffective; he seemed to have heard from Tremblay that Tremblay had heard from Gagliano that Gagliano had denounced Videns & Demers' contract with Martin. Triple-henny distancing, to a sort of bonus, a dead guy and the former ambassador to Denmark.

But the idea that Adrien was the work of a few isolated rogues is also hard to sustain. When Bellavia leaves the party executive and his successor knows precisely whom to tip for envelopes of cash, it suggests a shared culture. When a bunch of fake volunteers settle in at Liberal headquarters after billing a company they don't know for work they aren't doing, it is hard to remain naive about how they all plan to prosper. The story business Gomery is investigating cannot be confined to a single election or a single clique. It was closer to a way of life.

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THE EUROPEAN FIX

A Calgary symposium highlights the advantages of a hybrid health system

RALPH KLEIN AND HEALTH CARE—it's a somewhat toxic combination. Just ask Stephen Harper. During last year's federal election campaign, Harper's Conservative party appeared headed for victory until Klein, in one of his infamous shots-from-the-hip comments to reporters, said he was considering health care reforms in Alberta that might very well violate the Canada Health Act. Paul Martin spent the final stretch of the campaign denouncing Klein and warning darkly of a conspiracy between the premier and Harper

to undermine the sacrosanct principles of Canada's public care system. Martin's strategy was cynical, hypocritical—and brilliantly effective.

So with another federal election in the offing, Harper's team was surely aglow at the prospect of last week's Alberta Symposium on Health, a \$1.3-million confluence of policy wonks, physicians and economists

from around the world charged with bringing forward innovative solutions to the much-ballyhooed "public health care crisis." The conference was to be a lay weapon in Klein's hunt for what he dubois "third way" in health care—something in between the universal-

Provinces could shorten some long waiting lists by contracting out to private clinics

of the richest American system and the belly-grail that is the Canada Health Act. Oh dear, one could imagine the Harpentes righting here we go again.

At it turned out, the Calgary-based symposium did little to rough up the sons of Alberta boogymen Martin would so dearly love to walk upon on the campaign trail. Quite the opposite, in fact. There was much from the three days of earnest discussion that Harper, if he cared to—no dared to—could use to counter Liberal attacks. Perhaps the most telling lesson: that applying the private sector a greater role in health care—something Harper supports, but which the loudest defenders of our status quo

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Health Care | >

consider health-care simply the norm in several European nations, many of them run by social-democratic governments.

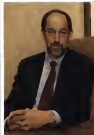
There was probably no one at last week's symposium with a broader knowledge of European health care practices than Richard Salzman, who has anchored the field for 25 years. In addition to being a professor of health policy and management at Emory University's school of public health in Atlanta, Salzman is a research director of the European Observatory on Health Care Systems, a virtual think tank that analyses trends in health care policy across Europe. While Salzman is an American and one who resides in a red state to boot—he is no fan of how U.S. single-payer care has left 45 million of his fellow citizens without medical insurance. "I view health care as a social good," he told Macdonald. "I see it as a case of what makes a society valuable, coherent, livable. I don't believe, by the way, that most Americans share my opinion. They prefer to see it as a commodity and they are unwilling to pay for other people's health care."

All of which is to say that Salzman is, in all manner, and defender, of the funded public health care systems in they exist in Canada and much of Europe. But not an uncritical one. In fact, he scoffs at what he calls health care's "Children's Crusade" as "so naive as there is any extraordinary behaviour at all in the public sector, or any link to the private sector, that's just past history."

Salzman finds it bewildering that there's so much controversy in Canada over some provinces, Alberta among them, contracting a few over-sold services and margins to privately owned clinics, while condemning pay for these procedures out of the public purse. "And this is a big deal!" he asks rhetorically. "This is not a big deal" in any country that I know of in northern Europe that has a tax-funded health care system."

Moreover, says Salzman, several countries, Sweden, Denmark and Britain among them, have used the private sector as, in effect, multi-public health care main efficiency and allow it to survive in the long run. He cites the example of Britain's Tony Blair, whose Labour government has attempted to reduce the pressure on the country's National Health Service by, among other things, allowing private companies to deliver targeted services, and bringing in private money to build new hospitals. In

SALTMAN, who admires public health, says the use of private services doesn't mean 'the sky is falling'



Salzman: "I see health care as a case of what makes a society valuable, coherent, livable."

addition to downgrading existing waiting lists, says Salzman, "I would argue that Blair actually ran the National Health Service so that it delivers good care for the next generation."

All the same, there are protections on some Salzman fully rejects. He considers health care user fees, something Alberta and other provinces have flirted with, as counterproductive because they discourage people from seeing primary care doctors and end up costing the system more in the long run when people truly get sick. On another flashpoint—whether individuals should be able to get quicker access to MRIs if they pay for the procedure themselves—Salzman comes down on Ottawa's side. This sort of queue-jumping, he says, "tarnishes the system." But the solution is not banning the private MRI clinics, especially when so many affluent Canadians could just as easily visit an American facility. Rather, says Salzman, Canada should follow Sweden's example: make the public system so accessible and efficient that private diagnostic clinics won't go bankrupt for lack of business.

Among the 28 keynote speakers from nine countries who addressed the symposium, there was much the Blair Tories probably didn't want to hear. Rudolf Kien, a professor emeritus from Britain's University of Bath, joked about sharing a surname with the premier. But the British Kien also said that, after 48 hours in Alberta, he couldn't understand why such an affluent society would even consider turning out medical services to the private sector.

Beyond the private public mischief, several speakers delivered on the conference's demand for innovative solutions. Consider, for example, New Zealand's PHARMAC agency, which rigorously screens what drugs the government will fund and, years ago, declined to endorse the now discredited COX-2 inhibitors such as Vioxx. Or the nurses' and professional health council in Israel, which has arrested control from the politicians over deciding which medical services will be publicly insured. Or Britain's massive investment in tele medicine and electronic health care records.

Don't worry, none of these ideas is likely to permeate the pre-election posturing. That much became apparent when Federal Health Minister Paul Ramsey swept into Calgary two days before the Alberta symposium to attend a doctors' conference put on by the Friends of Medicine lobby group. Ramsey told reporters that Kien's quest for a third way on health care "rings alarm bells for all Canadians," and added that "Hager's bill doesn't represent" omnibills. Ramsey also defended Kien's invitation to attend the symposium, explaining that, with this Liberal poised to fall at any moment, he should best scout back to Ottawa.

And what about Ralph? Ironically enough, the premier was a no-show at his own event due to a respiratory infection. For the Harpites, this was definitely good news. Kien is never more than a scum away from getting a national firestorm. By contrast, Iain Evans, the province's personable health minister, seemingly told reporters at the end of the symposium that Alberta—and Canada—had nothing to fear from the defectors. But even Evans couldn't resist taking a dig at Ramsey, noting that Québec had far more private health clinics than Alberta and wondering aloud why the federal Liberals never wanted to talk about that. It's a funny country, isn't it? ■

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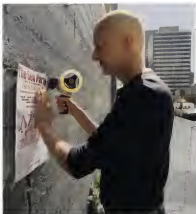
PARTY HEARTY

B.C. voters have a broad, and odd, array of choices

MOST POLITICAL organizations—cannets, cautions, dull—give the word “party” a bad name. This can’t be said of those in British Columbia, where 45 caisses are registered for the May 17 provincial election. Politics show only two—the governing Liberals or rival New Democrats—have a hope of forming a government. This from more orphans, unfettered by expectation of electability, to express their creativity. Only Alberta, with 12 registered parties, comes remotely close to a 36.4 percent spectrum of choice.

B.C. is one of the Work Less Party of British Columbia and the Sex Party—natural allies, we might think—as well as an industrial-free entity known as the Party Of Greens Who Have Decided To Think For Themselves And Be Their Own Politicians, or POC/HUT/TAK/STOP for short. There's the B.C. Marijuana Party, which is growing potterishly close to mainstream, and two separatist parties: the Western Canada Concept Party of B.C. and the Blue British Columbia Party. There's the People of British Columbia Millennium Party, which would sell B.C. to a willing buyer for \$0 million per registered voter. There's an Ideology Party, too. But, then, aren't they all?

Most fringe parties aren't running candidates in all or even most of the 79 ridings, but each is filled by a distinct mosaic for a better B.C. That was expressed by the Marijuana party with the sparking of hundreds of dishevelled smoke-ins on the lawn of the Vancouver Art Gallery. Under its platform of weed legalization, pot toons to add billions in revenue. Tourism would now. Marijuana would be declassified B.C. item. "We like the diagnosis as much as anyone," says the party's website, "but there is no denying that cannabis is the province's most important resource."



ince spreads the word about the Sex Party's platform in the May 27 provincial election.

Without advertising budgets, getting out the message calls for creativity. The Work Less party—which advocates a 33-hour workweek—is an antidote to unemployment, stress and rampant consumerism—staged in “sleep-in” on the legislative lawn. Party workers, if that’s the proper term, hand out speeding tickets to rising pedestrians. “Obviously,” says Denise Ibarra, 27, a self-described recovering workaholic and one of 11 candidates, “there is little hope of being elected.”

Whining is rarely the point. Making a point is the point. John Ince, leader of the Sea Party, which is fielding three Vancouver-based candidates, says the organization would fail if mainstream parties adopt his "sex-positive" agenda. Don't hold your breath. The platform includes a designated area for nudists at public pools and beaches larger than a hectare, and no enforcement of laws governing sex workers. The party's May \$2 fund-raiser—which will include erotic art exhibitions, a nude photo shoot and

a couple having sex behind a screen—was deemed too racy for a provincial liquor license. Just another example of “sex negativity,” says Irace, a lawyer and co-owner of an upscale Vancouver sex shop.

IF BC is a haven for single-issue parties, it's because the bar is set so wonderfully low. Prospects must only survive the chief electoral officer, then their group's main purpose is to field candidates and at least two must run by the second election after registration.

Polls show "other" parties started this campaign with a mere three per cent of the decided vote, but the fringe is a correlative force. Consider it a political fact: tears, full of heartbreak and hope. The B.C. Green party, the first Greens in North America when it registered in 1983, may finally have a breakthrough season if it gains 12.4 per cent of the vote last election. This time, leader Adriane Carr runs with a smile.

More fortified, but delicious to contemplate, would be a minority government with the Work Less and Sex parties holding the balance of power. Could happen. It's election time in B.C. Party on.

Don't eat, sailor.

Don't think, imagine.

Don't touch, connect.

Don't move, journey.

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BYE-BYE TONY BLAIR?

He won the election. Now everyone's waiting for him to finally step down.

TONY BLAIR RETURNED to London in the small hours of Friday morning to greet Labour Party supporters after leading them to an unprecedented third straight majority government. The crowd cheered the rugged-looking Prime Minister, and Blair's wife, Cherie, draped herself around him as if he were a rock star. But don't be fooled by the glitz and the hype. Last week's election victory was more of a wake for Tony Blair than

a celebration. His days are numbered, and he will soon be on his way out.

Since his initial election as Labour leader in 1997, Tony Blair has reshaped the party, dragging it away from its traditional left-wing union base, and in the process making it not only electable again, but forging one of the most devastatingly successful governments in British history. You'd think this would earn him some respect, or at least gratitude, from the hundreds of MPs who

over their jobs largely to Blair's vision of "New Labour." But much of the party despises him. And finally, all the Labour MPs whose resentment toward Blair has been growing for years have been given some devastating ammunition. His majority was slashed to a margin of just 66 seats, down by more than 100 from his landslide majority of 167 in 2005. He has won the lowest share of the

popular vote for a ruling British party in modern times. "We've got a mandate to govern this country," Blair told supporters, but he conceded voters were unhappy. "We've got to listen to the people and respond wisely and sensibly."

Within hours of his victory, some of Blair's own MPs were suggesting the best thing he could do is step down. The rebel Labourite Bob Marshall Andrew and his party had won "dogshit" Tony Blair. "Everyone who fought this campaign knows that Tony Blair was our biggest electoral liability—not an asset," he said. "There are many backbench Labour MPs who will simply not tolerate any more

Blair's (left) is unlikely to take Labour in a radically different direction.



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SPRING 2005 SESSIONS

April 11

Tax Strategies for Investors 2005
Tim Constock, FCA, CPA, CFP, TEP
Author of "Winning the Tax Game 2005" and
"The Tax Freedom Zone"

April 25

Leaving a Legacy
Patrick Lovett-Rod, Senior Vice President, Haskin, FCSI, CSP
TD Waterhouse Canada Inc.

May 5

Tools for Investors - Finding Value Stocks
Fred Ketchen, Director of Equity Trading
ScaniaMcLeod

May 30

Technical Analysis - Factors Impacting the Market
Bibi Corrigan, Financial Market Commentator
Guiding Technical Info Services

June 13

Navigating the Investor Information Highway
Sara Koo, Director, Media & Marketing
TSX Group

June 27

Funds and Income Trusts - A Portfolio Manager's Perspective
Dean Orsco, Managing Director, Portfolio Manager
Mudale Capital Corporation

of this authoritarian government."

Blair's problems with his party peaked over his decision to join the war in Iraq more than two years ago. He faced a mini-coups revolt, and dissent has only grown since Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction were not found. And it was revealed that Britain's money general had cautioned Blair on the eve of war that a covert night confabula invading Iraq without a second UN resolution would be illegal.

During the campaign, some Labour candidates crucified their support for Blair as if they were confessing a sin. Most kept Blair's photographs off their campaign literature. It was hardly a ringing endorsement. And if Blair's own party was tepid in its support, much of the public, including Labour voters, was positively clammy. David Butler, a professor emeritus in politics at the University of Oxford, called the campaign "an unpopularity contest" between the PM and Conservative Leader Michael Howard.

On the front, Blair had a clear advantage. Not he also relied on the popularity of his right-hand man and neighbour at No. 11 Downing Street, the chancellor of the exchequer, Gordon Brown. Brown is immensely well-liked, and is seen by many voters as the man behind the relative economic stability enjoyed by Britain during Blair's mandate. Throughout the campaign, the two were frequently side by side, with Brown taking on the role traditionally played by the Prime Minister's wife. Whenever things got tough for Blair, Brown appeared to reassure voters and lend his support to the Prime Minister. "Vote Blair and get Brown" was the crutched implication.

Journalists have took to calling Brown Blair's "British shield." A durable shield, however, might be a better metaphor. Brown is Blair's all-but-ensured successor. He's put his ambition on hold for now, agreeing to help Blair win the election with the understanding that the PM will not run again. Had he won a bigger majority, Blair might have enjoyed the luxury of deciding when to go. But now, with his position shattered in the polls, the springing and grinding he hears behind him may well be the sound of knives being sharpened. Some predict he will be gone within a year.

The legacy Blair will leave Britain and his party is unclear. "Tony Blair changed the face of British politics," says Butler. "He had



Galloway stole a safe Labour seat, and said Blair's 'lies have come back to haunt him'

the guts to challenge Labour's pure social instinct." But his biggest achievement—leading Britain closer to the European Union—remains unfulfilled and increasingly elusive. If French voters reject the European

AT THE end of the day, Brown wants to be prime minister because he wants to be prime minister—a familiar story

constitution as a referendum later this month, Blair might not even risk holding and losing a similar referendum in Britain.

Then there is the Iraq war—an issue Blair tried to bury but which kept re-emerging throughout the campaign. Polls suggest the war would be a marginal factor in how people voted. But seen with large Muslim pop-

ulations reported significant shifts away from Labour toward the Liberal Democrats. And in a dramatic upset, George Galloway, a former Labour MP who founded his own party, Respect, to protest the Iraq war, unseated the pro-war Labour candidate Owen Jones in what used to be a safe seat London constituency. "Mr. Blair, this is for Iraq," Galloway said when his victory was announced. "All the people you have killed, all the lies you have told, have come back to haunt you."

It is perhaps a little overkill for Blair to wonder that Brown does not fundamentally differ from him on matters of policy or political vision. Brown has publicly backed Blair on Iraq, and said he would have made the same decisions. And although Brown is seen by some as a flag bearer for "Old Labour," he doesn't have any radically different ideas than Blair on matters of economics, health, or education reform.

At the end of the day, Brown wants to be prime minister because he wants to be prime minister. It's a story that should be familiar to Canadians: a strong PM pushed out of office by a man who for almost a decade helped create his electoral success.

For the time being, the Blair Brown alliance will hold. But inevitably, perhaps very soon, Blair will lose ships that it's time to go. He may depart quietly, even on amicable terms with Brown. The two do seem to genuinely like each other. But political succession is rarely smooth. What is almost certain is that Gordon Brown will govern Britain before the next general election. When that happens, Blair might want to look up Jean-Charles. Perhaps the two can form a mutual support group.

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Do you know someone who has changed the world for Canadian children and families? Tell us about them, and they could win a Today's Parent FOR KIDS' SAKE Award. Your hero might be a teen activist, an unpaid coach, a medical researcher, a volunteer mentor. If your hero has done something extraordinary for kids and families, we want to know! Read about our 2004 winners and learn more at Today'sparent.com/forkidsake.

Five winners will be announced in the October 2005 issue of Today's Parent; each will select a registered charity to receive a \$3,000 donation.

How to nominate your hero

The easiest way to submit your nomination online. You can find the complete nomination form, rules and frequently asked questions at Today'sparent.com/forkidsake.

Or to submit your nomination by mail, follow these steps: Fill in the form at right. On a separate 8 1/2 x 11 sheet (jane side only, single spaced), write your reasons for nominating this person, answering these questions as specifically as possible — How has this person made an impact on the lives of Canadian children and families? When did these accomplishments occur? What specific role did this individual play? Is there anything else that makes this person extraordinary or original? You may include supporting material such as press clippings (these will not be returned). Send your complete nomination to: Today's Parent FOR KIDS' SAKE Awards, One Mount Pleasant Road, Toronto, ON M4Y 2Y3.

Deadline for nominations: June 15, 2005.

About your nominee

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ Province _____ Postal code _____
Phone _____ Email _____
Occupation(s) of role _____ Age (if relevant) _____
Affiliation with a volunteer organization (if any) _____

About you

Nominator's name _____
Address _____
City _____ Province _____ Postal code _____
Phone _____ Email _____
Relationship to nominee _____

References

Please provide up to two references who could supply more information about the nominee if contacted by Today's Parent.

1) Name _____
Relationship to nominee _____
Phone _____ Email _____
2) Name _____
Relationship to nominee _____
Phone _____ Email _____

Signatures

We confirm that the information contained on this form and all supporting documents is correct and accurate. The nominee is aware of this submission and, if chosen as an award winner, agrees to accept a registered charity, committed to bettering the lives of Canadian children, to receive a donation from the Today's Parent FOR KIDS' SAKE Awards.

Nominator _____ Date _____
Nominee _____ Date _____





THE TREASURE IN OTHER'S TRASH

A Canadian junk-removal company is cleaning up

BRIAN SCUDAMORE has made his fortune by getting rid of other people's junk. But occasionally, buried under piles of worn furniture and broken toys, he finds a treasure. Like the old bowling trophy—a tarnished, silver-plated bowl awarded on a block of wood—that he shopped the Postville-Cup and made into the holy grail for his trash collectors. “We give it to the franchisee with the largest single load,” says Scudamore, founder and CEO of 1-800-GOT-JUNK, “but in the early days, when someone broke the record for largest load in a day, we made them drink beer from the old money trophy.”

Competition for this honour is getting stiff. Scudamore's Vancouver-based empire has grown from a \$700 start-up fund 16 years ago into the largest junk-removal service in North America, with 182 franchises. Revenue is expected to top \$75 million in 2005, double last year's total, in part because efforts on the amount of trash that municipal services will pick up every week. By next year, fleets of 100-to-150 trucks will be

paired with the 1-800-GOT-JUNK? logo will be in Australia and Britain, and Scudamore plans to have franchises in 30 countries by 2012. “Growth is my sole motivation,” says the 35-year-old. “I went with the franchise model because the company's overall vision is the only thing I want to control.”

“WE’VE collected so many great antiques over the years we could have opened one of the world’s largest antique shops”

Scudamore is not your typical CEO. He never finished high school, so the chairman of his father, a Vancouver surgeon, he's not the highest paid employee at his own company, preferring to reinvest most of the profits into the business and he has no interest in a corner office, opting instead for a stand-out-cube among the 105 staffers at

Scudamore and his staff have hauled away sardine tins, Gable's piano and the old book

the junction—the Greenville Island headquarters. The open-concept office is a throwback to the Internet boom, complete with accounts far zipping between desks. Adding to the informality is Scudamore's dog, a Shiba Inu named Grizzly, who accompanies the boss to work every day. The head office doubles as the central call centre, booking and dispatching trucks for all franchise partners. “We've collected so many great antiques over the years we could have opened one of the world's largest antique shops,” says Scudamore, whose favourite find is a 300-year-old Scottish preschool rocking chair. “We have a ladder-keeper mentality, which is an extra perk for the guys in the trucks.”

Kelly Mack, a driver with the Toronto franchise, smiles when listing the TiVo, VCRs, DVD players and computers (“it worked for about five months”) that he's picked up in his 18 months with the company. “We doend out a ‘busted grow-up list summer!’ says Mack, 31, whose truck has a plastic Darth Vader figurine—another so-the-job souvenir—dangling from the rear-view mirror. Other strange pickups include 18,000 tons of expired sardines, Clark Gable's piano (“it was so old,” says Scudamore, “it wasn't worth putting on eBay”) and a load of arms and legs from a bankrupt mannequin company. “The jokes about changing an arm and a leg get old pretty quick,” says Scudamore. The company has collected nearly 250,000 tons of trash since its inception, now charging \$400 to \$500 to haul away a full truckload (15 cubic yards) of junk. It decides when it can, and drivers donate as much as possible to charitable organisations such as Goodwill and the Salvation Army.

Business is expected to get even better as more municipalities impose trash limits. “Most cities will only pick up two cans a week,” says Scudamore. “And a couch can't go to fit in one of those cans.” That's why Scudamore finds it strange that, except from local men-and-pap outfits, his company has little serious competition. “When the home grocery model started, there were a bunch of players fighting for business,” he says. “One of our biggest problems is that the junk business is not well known. I welcome competitors who are willing to spread their money promoting the industry.” Until then, he's happy being on top of the heap. **E**

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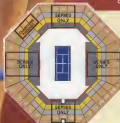


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ALL BUSINESS | STEVE MARCH



BETTER OFF WITHOUT YOU

Convergence was just a tune the media giants hummed for awhile.

THE TUNES CHANGE pretty quickly in the media business. It seems like only yesterday everybody was talking about the importance of scale, synergy and leveraging content across multiple delivery platforms. If you can speak business jargonese, you might eventually decipher that the suits were talking about owning as much stuff as possible—newspapers, magazines, TV and radio stations, Internet sites—to reach the masses. But by the time you figure it out, the message has already changed. Suddenly, synergy and scale have been replaced with “focused business plans” and “unlocking hidden value.”

Leave it to Sumner Redstone, the crusty maverick leading media giant Viacom,

to cut through the buzzwords and tell everybody what's really going on. At a recent dinner for media and strategy VIPs in San Francisco, Redstone stepped to the mike and explained what auster in his audience were already grudgingly accepting: convergence, the larger-is-better concept that dominated the industry for most of the past 10 years, is falling apart. “In some of you know, divorce is sometimes better than marriage,” he said, and went on to explain his recent decision to break his media empire in two.

One company will consist of fast-growing cable channels such as MTV, Showtime and Comedy Central. The other will run the slower-growth parts of the business: the CBS television network, Viacom's various

print assets, including the US\$3.6-billion sale of Warner Music. Reports suggest the company is still considering spinning off its AOL Internet division, a move that would officially split the old media and new media sides of the company which were brought together with such fanfare five years ago.

Here in Canada, CarWest Global Communications confirmed last month that it is considering packaging some or all of its newspaper assets into an internet trust that would be sold in an initial public offering. Like Time Warner, such a spinoff would split CarWest's newspaper from its core TV operations and would raise hundreds of millions of dollars to reduce its sizable debt. Over in Canada's other convergence cham-

ber, the mega-merger together, and they'll keep another world of underwriting fees as the companies break themselves apart. As long as Big Media keeps throwing fish to the barflies, they'll sit and dig on cue.

But for investors, and for the media precursors themselves, convergence has been less than joyous. At CarWest, CEO Leonard Asper talked of a glorious future in which reporters would snap and photos and live-action digital video of news events for the evening news, while filing live updates for the Internet, and then hand back to the office to write a newspaper story on deadline. He also envisioned offering national advertisers an unrivaled buffet of options to spend their promotional budgets—over the air, in print, and in cyberspace.

But it hasn't really panned out. Asper found his newspaper hacks weren't eager to do the work of four people on the salary of one, and advertisers didn't exactly flock to his buffet either. Between 2001 and 2004, revenue from CarWest's Canadian TV and publishing businesses rose by just 16 per cent, or about five per cent annually. Operating

DECONVERGENCE repudiates much of what we've been told about the media over the past five years. It turns out big isn't so beautiful. Often, big is bumbling.

profit, meanwhile, declined by 4.5 per cent. Headly numbers upon which to build a revolution. Stuck with big debts and a bumbling stock price, CarWest found what Viacom and Time Warner also helpfully discovered: these lumbering giants

are worth less than the sum of their parts.

The proponents of convergence will insist its basic principle remains intact—news and entertainment is just content, they say, and it makes sense to deliver that content in as many different ways as possible. But the various sales and spinoffs are, in the very least, an acknowledgment that convergence was a flop with investors and the public.

It's surprising to say convergence is dead. But it was never really alive. It was just a tune the media giants hummed for awhile.

STEVE MARCH'S BEATBOX: “All Business,” at WWW.MARCHSON.CA/BUSINESS

ron, deli Globe radio—owner of the CTV television network and the Globe and Mail newspaper—is considered only a matter of time. Bell Canada's chief executive, Michael Sabat, has made no secret of the fact that he sees no reason for his phone and Internet company to own traditional media assets.

Not surprisingly, this change of heart is being greeted with great enthusiasm by analysts and investment bankers on both sides of the border. Ray Stevens and Wall Street's Hot Strategic sees any time an industry changes direction, and for good reason: the broken and broken made a fortune putting

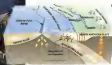
more than 30 per cent in the past five years. Although he didn't explicitly say so, Redstone was making the beginning of the deconvergence age—a new direction that repudiates much of what we've been told about the media business over the past decade. It turns out big isn't so beautiful. Often, big is just bumbling.

Viacom is just one of the media empires now subdividing into smaller fiefdoms. Even Time Warner, the company that became the embodiment of convergence when it merged with America Online in early 2000, has been furiously dumping assets over the

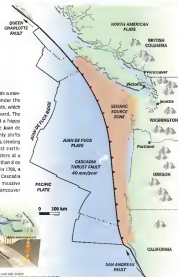


THE WORRY ZONE

The Juan de Fuca plate is moving east, sliding under the North American plate, which is marching westward. The Cascade fault isn't a happy meeting place: the Ash de Fuca (Ade) suddenly shifts every 900 years or so, creating a giant megathrust earthquake, which registers at a magnitude greater than 8 on the Richter scale. (In 1706, a huge quake in the Cascade fault triggered a massive tsunami that hit Vancouver Island.)



CHARLES W. HALL/BLU/BLU AND WAX/BLU
SOURCE: GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF CANADA, NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL



WHEN B.C. GETS HIT

Chances that a massive earthquake and tsunami will devastate the Lower Mainland are frighteningly high. Consider this a wake-up call, as KEN MACQUEEN reports.

WHEN THE INEVITABLE his British Columbia, expect a final, fleeting moment of denial. Perhaps a big truck is going by, or a construction crew is digging a foundation, or this is just a dirty spell. But the ground keeps moving and the air fills with dust and there is the sound of beeping glass

and falling objects, and the growing press of a building that was never meant to die. There will be an armoured urge to flee, but where? Maybe there is enough wherewithal to dive under a desk or a table or to brace one's doorway—and to think of that damned earthquake hit that never got assembled.

Is that the smell of gas? My God, where are the kids?

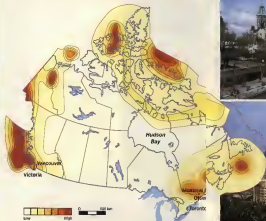
If you are lucky, and this is Vancouver, you will eventually stumble outside when the shaking finally stops, to a city changed beyond recognition. People will head together. Some will do stupid things, clearing

shopkeeper at the bases of downtown office towers, waiting to be smothered by showers of glass at the first aftershock. But unlikely leaders will emerge and there will be extraordinary acts of bravery, as there always are. People will be pined from weakened automobiles and shamed buildings. People will converge at St. Paul's Hospital in the West End, not for treatment but to pull parents and staff from its red brick rubble. There may be frantic rescue efforts in the name of the Main Street police station—likely to fail—because of the Downtown Eastside when they need help most—and at too many schools (more than 300 in the province are considered at high risk). Where are the kids they're not in class?

By now the fires will have started, fed by leaking gas and sparked by downed wires and flaring transformers thrown to the ground as fragile wooden poles snap or topple in to buildings, the gas, blowing over. People will rage at the lack of firefighters as Vancouver struggles for what seems like an eternity. But this is the Big One and firefighters are under orders to stay in their stations for the first hour, until damage assessments roll in. "We drive it home in all the meaning that they're not to do anything until they're cold," says Donald Martin, Vancouver's emergency planning coordinator. "What we've learned from every catastrophic earthquake, historically, is that you want to prioritize where you need to be first."

If you live on the west coast of Vancouver Island, and that is indeed the Big One—a subduction quake of about magnitude nine, about as bad as they get—your troubles have only started. The 1,000-km fault running offshore from B.C. to northern California has ruptured as often every 500 years or so. It generates a tsunami as powerful as the killer that devastated the coasts of the Indian Ocean last Dec. 26. If you live in Port Alberni, you'll hear the wall of the only prehistoric tsunami that struck on Canada's West Coast. If you live in communities like Zebulon or Tofino, you have 15- to 20 minutes to find high ground before your town is swept into the Pacific. The plan is simple enough, says Bill Hendrick, the volunteer emergency planning coordinator for Zebulon. "When they go through the biggest shake of their lives," he says, "they're to pick themselves up, dig their ankles out and get their butt out of town just as fast as they can."

IT'S NOT JUST B.C.—OTHER PARTS OF CANADA COULD SHAKE, RATTLE AND ROLL. THE COUNTRY'S SEISMIC HAZARD REGIONS:

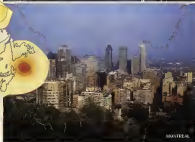


SOURCE: GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF CANADA/PAUL HODGSON, ADAPTED FROM 2003 GSC RELEASE 6000

One in 10, those are the odds, most experts say, that a Big One will hit B.C. and the U.S. West Coast in the next 50 years, releasing an earth-shaking event as much energy as the U.S. consumes in a month. Such subduction quakes have struck off the West Coast 13 times in the past 6,000 years—caused when the Juan de Fuca oceanic plate succumbs in its endless effort to push under North America. The most recent subduction quake there hit on Jan. 26, 1700—depressing about the same force in the killer quake and tsunami last December, which killed an estimated 300,000 along the coasts of Southeast Asia. The shaking lasted so long people fell ill. Oral histories of native people speak of a huge

burstle of the gods. The resulting tsunami tossed whales into land, drowned forests, wiped out an entire Indian village on Vancouver Island, and killed untold others. It inundated the coast in a tidal-bore layer of silt, and crossed the Pacific, wrecking homes on Japan's east coast.

The west coast of Vancouver Island should protect B.C.'s major cities from the brunt of a tsunami. But looming aside the Big One they are vulnerable to a potentially deadlier kind of quake: land-based "crustal" quakes, with the potential for serious structural damage. That was the stark warning in a paper presented at an earthquake engineering conference in Vancouver last August. There's



a 12 per cent probability in the next 50 years of a structurally damaging crustal quake hitting Vancouver, and a 31 per cent chance of it striking Victoria, were study authors Burn Oates, of the Geological Survey of Canada, and Mark Scamman, an analyst with B.C.'s Provincial Emergency Program, or PEP. Their conclusion: "The probabilities are high enough to demand comprehensive earthquake preparedness, response and recovery planning" by individuals and all levels of government.

Crustal quakes of magnitude six or seven occur on land in B.C. and nowhere else in Canada with great regularity. A seven quake can be expected every 30 to 40 years,

and a six about every 20. Where they hit makes all the difference. In 2001, a 6.8 quake occurred deep in the Earth's crust, about 50 km southwest of Seattle, causing \$2 billion in damage. In 1946, a 7.3 quake in a sparsely populated area of Vancouver Island caused minor property damage, but triggered more

than 300 landslides over 20,000 sq. km. "That was kind of lucky," says John Clague, a specialist in natural hazard research at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby. "There's no reason—with our current level of knowledge—to think such an earthquake couldn't occur closer, much closer, even very close, to Victoria or to Vancouver."

Moderate to large quakes can be devastating, even in cities with high seismic construction standards. In 1994, a 6.7 quake near Los Angeles killed 57 and caused an estimated US\$40 billion in damage. A year later, a 6.9 quake and firestorm in the port city of Kobe, Japan, killed about 6,000 people and caused some US\$200 billion in damage. One of the few public studies of potential earthquake damage in Vancouver was released in 1992 by the Munich Reinsurance Co. of Canada. It estimated the economic loss from a 6.5 crustal earthquake under Vancouver at \$14 billion to \$30 billion. A 2001 report for the insurance industry-funded Institute for Catastrophic Loss Reduction estimated that a 6.5 quake under the neighbouring city of New Westminster would cause \$5 billion in regional fire damage alone.

"The absolute worst-case scenario," says Clague, "would be a shallow megathrust seven earthquake within, say, 20 or 30 km of Seattle or Victoria or Vancouver. That would be catastrophic. Even with very high quality, up-to-date building design, it will be catastrophic." Just how bad, and how likely, is information that is sadly lacking. Seismic studies of the wildly different levels of localized ground shaking in a quake are a U.S. federal priority. In B.C., there are few such studies. "Here it's a provincial responsibility," says Clague, "and the province has been quite loath to do anything with it." One of the great unanswered questions is how badly the sandy soil of the Fraser River delta would liquefy in a quake. The delta is home to hundreds of thousands of people, as well as Vancouver International Airport, a major B.C. power corridor, major rail and container ports, and vital electrical transmission lines in Vancouver Island. "It's a very vulnerable link punch all day," says Clague.

Back and over is not just a classroom earthquake drill, it's been the approach of Canadian politicians to avoid spending on programs to harden water lines or retrofit hospitals. Preventing a bridge from collapsing 50 years hence doesn't win

ONE IN 10: those are the odds, experts say, that a Big One will hit the West Coast sometime in the next 50 years

DANGER IN BRITISH COLUMBIA'S SCHOOLS

ON A PLEASANT April morning, in a giant University of British Columbia laboratory, a 4.5-m-high section of brick wall—representative of many old B.C. schools—racks violently in a simulated magnitude seven quake. It finally cracks and crumbles, but Carlos Vinturas, an earthquake engineer at the department of civil engineering, is well pleased. The wall was reinforced at the top and strengthened in its structure and made a more stable. Gives Vinturas and his colleagues

at UBC hope that we can be fixed to quickly, and more cheaply, among them B.C.'s large inventory of unimproved brick schools. We're not looking to save the buildings, only those inside. "The earthquake," he warns, "isn't going to wait."

Watching the demonstration is Tracy Mark, a Vancouver family doctor, mother of school-aged children, and something of a force of nature herself. She is a founding member of Families for School Seismic Safety, a collection of parents and student advocates that mety credit with forcing the provincial government last November to commit \$4.5 billion over 15 years to strengthen B.C. schools. Of 864 schools in the province's earthquake zones, 311 are at high risk of severe damage in moderate to strong quakes, Mark says. Schools and hospitals often account for a disproportionate share of quake casualties. "It's as symbolic of what happens to our social priorities," she says. "The things we treasure most always end up falling to the bottom of the political agenda."

Mark says disaster mitigation is mixed in the same fashion that cities muddled the use and acceptance of publicly funded resources. Education is the answer, as it was then, she says, and stopping beatings from hitting people is one of the low-ballooned problems in the world. ■

THE RETROFITTING RECORD

The number of schools in Seattle and Vancouver at high or moderate risk of seismic damage that have not been retrofitted.



SOURCE: "THESE SCHOOLS ARE MORE AT RISK OF COLLAPSE," REPORT, NATIONAL FOR SCHOOL SEISMIC SAFETY (2006)



Vancouver has taken some steps, setting up containers filled with emergency supplies.

buildings and hydro poles and transmission towers contributed to the \$3.5 billion damage of the ice storm that hit Quebec, eastern Ontario and parts of the Maritimes in 1998. "It's the biggest thing that's happened in Canada," says Keweenaw, "until the \$30-billion quake happens in Vancouver."

RONALD MARTIN, Vancouver's emergency planning coordinator, wheels through downtown, showing off some examples of the city's resilient—and largely self-financed—recent commitment to emergency planning. The first stop, tucked under a park on the edge of False Creek, is the central room of the \$55-million salt-water firefighting system. The self-contained facility can run five diesel engines, pumping sea water to an independent, earthquake-hardened system of high-pressure lines and hydrants protecting the high-density downtown core. No city in the world has a water backup system as advanced, including, unfortunately, any other earthquake-vulnerable cities in B.C. or Canada.

Martin swings through Gastown and the Downtown Eastside, where hundreds of old brick and unreinforced masonry buildings would be at high risk of collapse. He passes the large Main Street pillar substation. "That one is highly vulnerable," he says. Later, on the subject of at-risk buildings, he adds Vancouver's old city hall to the list, and, especially, St. Paul's Hospital. "That one," he says, "is out there like a grenade placed in plain sight." He pulls into a convenience store parking lot and stops at a locked metal drug vaulter decorated with therapeutic cartoon characters wanted by schoolchildren. The unmarked low-rise of 23 emergency supply trailers placed throughout the city contains 375 tons, blankets, dried soup and other supplies. The plan is to low-income housing complexes overlooking the cheerfully painted container. "It's all unreinforced masonry and cinder block," he says with a grimace. "We've got soft stories all along the base. Our concern is you're going to get vibrations, and it's just going to go south."

The Vancouver area is a mix of progress and problems. Vancouver is together with neighbouring cities and the main authority purchased five high-speed bus lanes, deployed throughout the region. The city now has a diversified and self-contained regional emergency command structure and a local centre. Yet one major worry is that Vancouver is

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Your World Right Now

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Series from Vancouver, clockwise from top left: the dedicated fire pump station at False Creek Market; the city's emergency planning coordinator; the regional emergency communications and tactical centre; a worker at the False Creek pumping facility

the only major city in North America still using overhead electric transmission in its central business district, according to the 2001 fire report for the Institute for Catastrophic Loss Reduction. "In past earth quakes," the report notes, "pole-mounted transformers were and exploded." It identified another unmet need: about 1,200 high-rise buildings in the area, just 29 per cent have sprinklers. And virtually none in unincorporated parts of the U.S.—have their own firefighting water reservoirs.

The most thorough assessment of Vancouver's earthquake vulnerability has never been fully made public. The Delon report—commissioned in 1991 and completed in 1995—assessed 1,150 older buildings of three stories or more. It found 490 at high or very high risk, and extrapolated that 18,000 Vancouver buildings were vulnerable in a quake. It opened a can of worms the city has yet to deal with. Officials have refused to release the list of at-risk buildings, citing, at various times, the impact on private property values,

the potential to cause panic and, most recently, that the report is out of date. But 10 years later, no coherent plan has been drafted to require the upgrade of private buildings, unless they change use from a warehouse to a loft apartment, for instance, or undergo renovation. Not even warning signs are required to give

DUCK and cover is not just a classroom drill—it's also how politicians have reacted to the prospect of spending on preparedness

the public some inkling of the odds that a building where they visit, work or live won't come down on their heads.

Dave Jackson, appointed Vancouver's chief building official in February, says he has yet to read the report. He blames a series of personnel changes for the inaction. "We will be getting back up to speed on that," he

says, "but not immediately." After long years of delay, there were to be consultations with private landlords and tenant groups about how the city's vulnerable buildings should be retrofitted, and who should pay. Recommendations were to reach council by this spring, but the seismic portfolio, who would play a key role, left in 2003. The city has yet to hire a replacement. Releasing the Delon report as an interim measure would be "misleading," says Jackson. "You could have your building warned in that and people would not want to rent in that—and maybe it's already been upgraded."

Other jurisdictions have shown more political will, often after being shaken into action. California halted construction of unreinforced masonry buildings after a 1993 quake hit Long Beach, collapsing 70 schools, shattering 120 others and killing five children who had the misfortune to be in a gymnasium after school hours. Los Angeles, meanwhile, approved seismic retrofit orders in 1982. By 2004—the year the devastating

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quake struck the city—most of the 8,000 affected buildings had been upgraded or demolished, saving in solid lives. Japan, an region to Vancouver council noted in 2000, has had increasingly stringent seismic requirements since 1971. But Japan, like Canada, had no substantial laws requiring the upgrade of non-conforming buildings. That changed after the Kobe quake of 1995, when more than 80,000 buildings collapsed, 8,000 more were destroyed by fires, and 6,000 people died.

Any lesson Canada should take from such inaction are slow in getting through. Schools, for instance, aren't even on the federal emergency planning list of "critical infrastructure," although banks and national monuments are. That oversight sheds Brian Tucker, president of California-based GeoSearch International, an agency not more used to educating Third World nations about the need for earthquake mitigation. Tucker wrote a letter this month to Anne McLeffan, the responsible federal minister, urging that schools be accorded priority protection, and that the government play

"a leadership role in helping ensure disaster-resistant communities both at home and around the world."

In B.C., a provincial decision late last year to finally speed up the strengthening of its hundreds of at-risk schools came only after a powerful lobby by parents, experts and students exposed the danger to schools.

THE most thorough assessment of Vancouver's earthquake vulnerability has never been fully made public

children were potentially in danger. And there is another heartening bit of progress: The provincial auditor general's office is about to commit to an annual review of the province's state of emergency readiness, says Ringling, the provincial emergency program head.

That there are few such champions forcing the issue onto agendas at all levels of

government is no surprise to Nathan Longman, 28, a graduate of Vancouver Technical Secondary School, one of the worst petrioid deathtraps in the province. The school is now slated for repairs, in no small measure because Longman and fellow students lobbied relentlessly for years. The difference they initially faced at one nearby defunct school is the national problem in microcosm. "I think it's because it's an abstract threat in a way," says Longman, who spent his high school years waiting for the roof to fall in. "There isn't a vivid memory here of an earthquake." Who's to blame, he asks rhetorically? Successive governments, the media, maybe society at large, he suggests. No one wants to spend for what might happen in the future, he discovered. "It's a culture of now."

And that's the thing. Probably there won't be a quake today. Or tomorrow. Or this century. Probably they thought that in Kobe and Banda Aceh, too. Then the luck runs out. That's the one certainty the geological record provides. One day, inevitably, the ground will shake. ■

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ROYAL SPIN SURGEON

Having repaired the prince's battered image, Mark Bolland returns to Canada

WHEN PRINCE CHARLES and Camilla Parker Bowles were married on April 8, the one person most responsible for the ceremony was discreetly left off the guest list. But Mark Bolland couldn't have been happier for the couple if he'd proposed it all himself. "I did you as best dress as I was leaving the chapel, when the wind caught it and it formed this perfect sort of 'Beautiful,'" he says. He understands completely about the sensation not peeping through his living box. In the course of nearly seven years spent postdating

the British press, the public and Queen Elizabeth II that Charles and Camilla should be allowed to marry, he admits that sometimes things get a little, well, "sassy." He pulls a face. "There were times when you had to jolt things along."

Bolland's love of palace intrigue and talent for dabbling the dirt—he arrived as Charles's deputy private secretary from 1996 to 2002 and as adviser for another year—prompted prince William and Harry to borrow upon him the sobriquet of Lord Blackadder, after the scheming courtesier played by Rowan Atkinson in the BBC TV series. "Why not running through he may be, as person Bolland is candid and forthright, the perfectly proper and charming partner of an upright Englishman. Except that he is not an Eng-lishman—and Bolland, 38, now wishes to spend more time in his native Canada.

This week he will return on a house-hunting expedition to his birthplace, Toronto. He has friends there and visits regularly; it feels like home. Bolland has built a successful public relations business that increasingly draws demand from New York City and Los Angeles. But he plans to launch his North American expansion from a Toronto headquarters.

Wherever he makes his home, it is bound to have the most sparkling value in the city: Bolland and his partner, Gay Black, are without doubt the best-connected gay couple in London, and their dinner parties at their spectacular London flat—comple-

with tasteful terrace overlooking St. Paul's Cathedral—link together the cream of political, media and society circles. Black has been the communications chief for Conservative Leader Michael Howard, helping him during the British election campaign. He will leave his pressure-cooker job in the early summer to join Bolland in Toronto, he might be interested in leading a bid to Stephen Harper's Conservatives.

On the list of Bolland's infamous acquaintances, "talking" is at the top. He's the consummate Rolodex flipper who loves getting the latest, and his speech is peppered with the sort of ballpoint anagrams that highlight Dominick Dwyer's *Vanity Fair* diary. At the mansion of Dwyer, Bolland lets a slip that dear old Dominick was over for dinner just the other

week. Howard and his ex-model wife, Sandra, recently dropped over for dinner with New York architect Rafael Viñoly. A regular guest is Sir Christopher Meyer, the former British ambassador to Washington, and his wife, Lady Catherine Meyer. Among his Canadian friends are an collector Taylor Lynne Thomson, heiress of the Thomson fortune, and the Weston family. Bolland's conversation spills over with inside this and inside that; he can be deliciously naughty about them that you wonder how he gets

the bloodless stains out of the carpet. Bolland's father, Arthur, was a poverty-stricken English bricklayer who came to Canada with his wife, Joan, in 1952. Bolland was born in 1946 and attended Princess Margaret primary school in Toronto's Biltmore area until age eight, when his family returned to Yorkshire. He went to state-run schools there but spent holidays in Canada; he also took a year's exchange from the University of York in England, where he took a degree in chemistry, to attend York University in Toronto.

Following graduation, he worked briefly as a pollster in Toronto and as an IBM management intern in England, but he longed for a job in London's bustling media scene. He was soon picked up by the *Adver-sar*, doing Saturdays authority and transferred to the Press Complaints Commission, where he rose to the position of director in 1992. The move put him in touch with the media and the people—during the most tumultuous period of relations between them.



By 1996, Charles's approval rating was plummeting (it would soon bottom out at around 38 per cent) and Diana was in the final throes of their arduous divorce. Waiting in the wings was Camilla Parker Bowles, soon to be the scarlet woman behind the marriage breakdown. "It was decided by a little circle of people that I would be the right person to help him," Bolland recalls. "It was fun I could risk freely to him. I would be respectful but kind of edgy."

THE newly married Camilla can't build a relationship with the people on the basis that she makes Charles happy

Bolland was second line at interviews with Camilla. Following that, he says, "I got a call suggesting the Prince of Wales would like to meet me. It all happened very quickly."

Bolland delivered. He wasn't afraid of giving Charles blunt advice, saying him to emerge from his self-imposed cloister. His strategy for repairing the prince's image was threefold. First, the public battle between Charles and Diana had to end. Through a newspaper editor friendly with Diana, he arranged a meeting. Bolland found her surprisingly agreeable to a ceasefire. Her death in Paris was another next year could have had disastrous consequences for Charles and Camilla, but the Prince of Wales, Bolland said, "dealt correctly with those things."

He no longer affects the couple media advice—although he does have some to give. He is disturbed by recent polls showing most Britons would prefer the crown to pass directly to William. He is even more upset that among young people and women in particular, there are growing numbers who simply don't care about the monarchy. Bolland's answer: "The Prince of Wales has to regain the ability to connect with the bulk of the population." Charles's problems, he adds, are worsened by the fact he does not read newspapers or watch television, and is a stranger to the Internet. As for Camilla, she has to bring "added value" to the royal household. "She can't build a relationship with the people on the basis that she makes Charles happy. She has to bring something of substance to the institution."

It's now someone else's problem. Bolland seems to put his palace days behind him, and is more interested in the prospects of Toronto than the royals. "It's hardly an original new, but I'd say still that the country and generosity of Canadians works," he says. "I've always been interested from afar in how progressive a place Canada is—it just seems to me like a happy place."



Bolland (right) salvaged the most difficult case—the marriage of Charles and Camilla

HE'S A HURLING GRETZKY

A star Irish athlete is just another student in Halifax

TONY GRIFFIN is a local hero in Ireland. So life in Halifax is a bit strange for the now athlete-turned kinesiology student, especially when he grabs his hockey—a short hockey stick with a rounded end, like a paddle—and goes out for a run. “People think I’m going to attack them,” says Griffin, 24, a prolific scorer who has played in front of 80,000 fans back home but at Dalhousie University is just known as the Irish guy with the stick. “I’ve had people leave themselves because they didn’t know what was going to happen.”

Canadians may know little about hurling, but it’s a good idea to avoid an on-rushing player. One of Ireland’s most popular sports, it’s a violent crash between lacrosse and field hockey in which players can run with the ball balanced on their hurley, hit it in the air, catch it, hit it on the ground, or even run with it in their hand for a short distance. “Basically,” Griffin says, “I try to get the ball in the net without getting killed.”

Griffin’s gift for finding the back of the net became apparent in his early teens, and at 16, he joined his brothers and cousins on the parish team in Ballyva, 30 km north-west of Limerick. “I remember being protective of him,” says his oldest brother Sean, 33, “because he would go in for quite a bit of punishment since he was not known as a talent.” A lanky youth, Griffin bearded up, worked hard and attracted scouts from the County Clare team, which signed him when he was 20. “He’s very strong and aggressive on the ball,” says teammate Desmond McMahon, 24. But even his close friend doesn’t gloss over Griffin’s flaws. “He doesn’t pass enough and is very greedy,” McMahon says with a laugh. “And he can be a bit clumsy.” Like all top-tier hurlers in Ireland, Griffin



The scoring sensation fires home to play for County Clare before crowds of up to 80,000

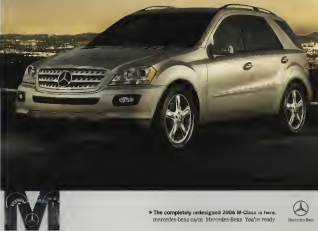
also plays for his parish team. In fact, fans raised money last year to fly him home from Halifax to play in local matches. His County Clare club also fans the ball for fights so their top gun is on side for big games. The National Hurling League is an amateur organization and players aren’t paid even though the league makes millions of euros a year from ticket sales. The money goes to building stadiums, funding youth teams and paying players’ expenses. Players, meanwhile, can’t be traded. “The fans are people you know

the game we played the previous day,” he says. “I needed to grow up mentally by getting away from this.” He had heard glowing reviews of Dalhousie’s kinesiology program from Travis McDonough, County Clare’s team chiropractor and the son of Halifax MP Alexa McDonough. “Tony’s become intrigued with sports science and how various technical training programs affect performance,” explains John McCabe, a kinesiology professor at Dal. “That was something lacking in his own background.”

Griffin, who has two years left to complete his degree, works out six days a week. “If you don’t,” he says, “the day there’s 50,000 people in a stadium in when you’ll be found out.” He has also been practicing on a squash court and has recruited several classmates to help with. “The guys who play ice hockey,” he says, “get it straight away.”

Alexa McDonough, who describes her son’s pal as the “Wayne Gretzky of southern Ireland,” is impressed with how he’s dealt with the transition from celebrity to anonymity. “I think a lot of superstar athletes would have a rough time with it,” she says. “But he’s just so enthusiastic about taking up every new experience.” And recently, his cover was blown by the *Halifax Herald*, which ran a St. Patrick’s Day story about the famous hurler in Dalhousie in which he pointed out that green beer is not, in fact, “an authentic Irish tradition.” But he doesn’t factor in to hold the man among people against his city. “I said to my mother,” he says, “that if I met the right girl, I could stay here.” ■

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MARK'S SECRET GOSPEL

What does a contested text say about Jesus, gay sex and baptism?

RIISING OUT of the rock walls of the Kidron Valley 20 km southeast of Jerusalem, the Greek Orthodox monastery Mar Saba is one of the most dramatic sights in the Holy Land. Founded 1,500 years ago, it's one of the oldest still-inhabited monasteries in the world, although its current population of 10 monks is a far cry from the 4,000 who crowded it before the Arab conquest of 630 CE. It's easy to imagine Mar Saba as an Indiana Jones film, as the site where the Holy Grail lies hidden. A 1940 thriller by Canadian evangelical writer James Hogg Hunter unfolds there. Near the end, an ancient parchment depicting Christ's resurrection and lead an unwitting British scholar to the ruins of his final throne to destroy the morale of the Christian world. All in all, the perfect place for an American scientific novelist. Morton Smith to discover—or forge—a fragment of a secret version of the Gospel of Mark, a scathing addition to one of the foundational documents of Western civilization.

That was in 1958. The squabble—debate or a scandal—a word—over authenticity and the gay Christ seems as if it has scarcely started since. Five years ago, Queen's University historian Donald Akenson forcefully expressed the rejectionist view, declaring Secret Mark so obvious a fake that it was a litmus test for biblical scholars, determining whether "they have at least a touch common sense as God gives to a goose." Anyone who could not spot the forgery "from a height of 5,000 feet," Akenson wrote, "should not be allowed to make as theistic pronouncements" about biblical texts. And now, is Mark's Other Gospel? Will



A controversial American scholar found the fragment in Mar Saba's library in 1958.

Grid Laurier University Press), University of Toronto professor Scott G. Brown makes a convincing case that it's a genuine work by the evangelist. Brown exhaustively wades through a dispute far more marked by virulent sectarian politics, sexual innuendo and the usual signs of the scholars' world than anything resembling the disinterested pursuit of truth. "The scholarship on this has

"HE REMAINED with him that night: for Jesus was teaching him the mystery of the kingdom of God"

been as easy and so shallow because of record personal relationships and theological issues," he said in an interview.

What Smith claimed to have found while cataloging books in the Mar Saba library 47 years ago was a copy of a letter by Clement of Alexandria, an important second-century Christian thinker. In it, Clement responds to a fellow cleric named Theodote, who had written Clement in confusion over the claims of a group of heretical Christians known as Gnosticism who used sex in their worship. Their justification for this was that unusual version of Mark's Gospel, which they evidently told Theodote originated in

Alexandria. Clement freely admits that his church has such a two—see more "esoteric" than the familiar biblical gospel; that St. Mark had earlier compiled for ordinary Christians. Although the Alexandrians guarded the advanced gospel secretly, allowing it to be read "only to those who were being initiated into the great mysteries," the Gnostics' founder had managed to get a copy from a corrupt church elder.

And yet, Theodote is told, there is a section in Secret Mark, meant to be read after the biblical verse Mark 10:34, that tells of Jesus' arrival in Bethany. He encounters a woman whose brother has died. Going to the tomb he restores the youth to life. The young man entrusts Jesus to let him become a disciple. Jesus says in the youth's house for seven days. "And when it was evening, the young man comes to him donning a linen cloth upon his naked body and he remained with him that night, for Jesus was teaching him the mystery of the kingdom of God."

Any modern reader, hyper alert to sexual subtexts, would raise an eyebrow here. For Akenson, the whole thing is obviously "a nice word game," a modern hoax at the expense of self-important scholars. But Smith, the fragment's chief defender until his death in 1991, saw the possibility of a real second gospel. Secret Mark, he concluded in 1973, records a special baptism given by Jesus to chosen disciples, "singly and by night," that "may have resulted in completion of the spiritual union/physical union." That currently prejudiced scholars against

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Smith's find. Theological ripendence claiming a gas Christ takes its starting point from the fact that the Bible doesn't say unequivocally that Jesus was crucified. He could have been gay. Such reasoning is far from persuasive for most Christians, of course, so Secret Mark has become a mainstay of so-called queer theology. What is actually happening between Jesus and the unnamed youth, in a "spiritual" gospel, is not readily apparent. But Clement's letter does offer context that at least some self-styled Christians—however much reviled by the orthodox—accepted: homosexual acts.

Unsurprisingly, Smith's interpretation has stirred the fragment itself. And doubt of the gospel fragment, and what some people were making of it, turned out to meld easily with doubt of Smith, a professor of ancient history at Columbia University. "He had a great sense of honour," Brown notes, but "some people hated him, and with good reason—he could be very mean, verbally abusive, to those he thought fools" but that doesn't mean he'd stoop to fraud, Brown insists. "To study Secret Mark I had to study Smith for 30 years. I've never found anything dishonest in him, and I think I would have after that long."

That's not Jacob Neusner's opinion. The world's most published scholar in the humanities, with more than 900 books to his name, the 72-year-old specialist in ancient Judaism teaches at Bard College in New York State. The subject of a recent admiring profile in the *New York Times*, Neusner is a vigorous—not to say violent—polemicist who has been known to circulate letters to opponents with "Grog Dead." When objecting to another scholar's work, Neusner has several times written an entire volume in reference, with the offender's name in the title. In 1993 he published *Are the Talmudic Berachotim Genuine? Christine Hayes's Murder*.

Neusner used to be a Smith acolyte, and contributed a scathing attack to Smith's book on Secret Mark. But the two men, so alike in temperament, later parted ways—in 1984, Smith publicly denounced his former student for incompetence at an academic gathering held to honour Neusner's work. Smith may not have been alone in his disillusion, as Brown notes, Neusner's public cause piece—a book every 16.7 days over the course of his career—"does not suggest only good things about his scholarship." But it was Smith who gave the public attack, and



After his original gospel, the letter claims, Mark wrote a spiritual version.

after his death, Neusner began to write about his old teacher's "forgery of the century." All this matters to the tangled history of Secret Mark because of Neusner's enormous influence. Almon and others derive their opinion about Smith's character from Neusner's account. "I know of an scholar at least who agreed to his personal knowledge of Smith," Brown cautions. And so, in Brown's opinion, a kind of folklore grew up, full of demonstrably wrong beliefs about Smith and his discovery that he never let anyone else examine the manuscript, that he was an expert in forgery, that he forged Secret Mark to discredit Christianity by "proving" Jesus was a homosexual.

For Brown, the controversy that has mar-

ginalized Secret Mark has much to do with the fact that conservative Biblical scholars went to discredit it. "They want the locus of truth about Christianity to be found only in the 27 books the early Church canonized and put in the New Testament—anything outside the canon is to be ignored." Once the status of the gospel—and the person it purports, which Brown considers manufactured—was stripped away, he is left with something that looks like Mark, sounds like Mark, feels like Mark. Why shouldn't it be Mark? "Three thousand first," Brown echoes Almon. "Then close up, on the ground, I couldn't see the forgery. The gospel incident quoted in Clement's letter reflects a profound comprehension of Mark's literary techniques—able readers of composite text experts had not yet realized when the letter was discovered."

One of those techniques is known as intercalation: the evangelists frame one story within another, leading readers to understand the first in light of the second. The fragment inserts the story from Biblical Mark 10:35—the Apostles James and John ask Christ for positions of high honour once he, as they expect, becomes an earthly ruler—within the tale of the young man, Jesus responds, "Ye know not what ye ask. Can ye drink of the cup that I drink of? And be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?" That baptism, of course, is Jesus's death. The self-absorbed disciples don't see it, but understand the true price of entry to the kingdom of God—suffering and death—and thus the true meaning of the baptism for which the young man desired his keen share.

One of Biblical Mark's most important themes is that the way to eternal life is through death. Secret Mark's use of baptism as a metaphor for martyrdom thus develops the original gospel and neatly explains a figure from who has puzzled scholars and commoners. At Mark 16:6, a young man, clad only in a linen sheet, followed Jesus after his arrest when the mob tried to seize him, he left the linen sheet and "fled from them naked." Brown uses the same young man as in Secret Mark, the one destined to take part in the true baptism, Christ's Passion, the actual "regiment of the kingdom of God" that had been learned in the "hearing" of a somewhat exotic revelation, but one to be experienced from a gospel Clement calls "more spiritual" than the original. Even so, it's a much more straightforward tale than the saga of Morton Smith's discovery. ■

CHICKEN SOUP DOESN'T CUT IT

Today's self-help books go to extremes to help you fix your life—yesterday

I CAN'T DO IT. Day 2 of *Change Your Life in 7 Days* and I'm already failing. I moved through the first chapter, in which author Paul McKenna argued me through a series of mental exercises designed to differentiate my "achronic self" from the person I'm afraid I am and the person I pretend to be. It's a process he refers to as "discovering" and from under the loose shroud covered in self-published "Okey, whatever. I'm trying to take this seriously, and since

even the quietest of faces" McKenna likely, I'm not looking at the only one-your-wilderness transformation the book promises. The past few years have seen a proliferation of such guides—call them extreme self-help books. They're a fringe phenomenon in a multi-billion-dollar industry, and their extra-

'Eat more, exercise less, and look great by the weekend!'

ordinarily outrageous claims capitalise on the daily anxieties of living in a time-compressed, dog-eat-dog society. Wilderness of crackles in open *Change Your Life* (a recent release from Pluricon Books), McKenna

promised that high-pitch fever "The scientific and technological breakthroughs that are taking place all around us are increasing at exponential rates," writes McKenna. "Global communications systems can connect man to man like nerve cells in a huge global brain. Wherever it is we are going, we are going there fast!" He might have added,

'Change your life in seven days!'

Now? No way. Instead, I shift in my chair and stretch the corners of my mouth up into my cheeks. Tonight—I just can't do it. Five days away from boundless happiness and energy, greater wealth and success, and I'm dropping out. Am I too tempera- for

that long, try reading this new release by Derek Foster, the *Wassau Book*, Ont./Quebec press who he himself coined as 365 Day Working. How's that? Well, it's your personality that needs building? If so, you'll want to reach

for *How to Make People Love You in 90 Seconds or Less*, by Nicholas Boothman, a former fashion and advertising photographer and likely the only "Licensed Master Practitioner of Neuro-Linguistic Programming" living in Toronto, Ont. From this LMPNLP (whose book, now in its 13th printing, has sold 166,000 copies) we learn that warmth, enthusiasm and confidence are "truly useful attitudes," while anger, nervousness and impatience aren't. Really? Meanwhile, the fitness and diet expert for *McKenzie's Extreme Makeover*, Michael Thompson, slows things down a bit with his new book, *4 Day Body Makeover*, which promises readers they'll "drop one whole

'How to make people like you in 90 seconds or less!'

pound or put one in just 6 days—and keep it off! And for the busy guy who prefers athletic challenges over the sedentary, Joe Valente's *The System: How to Get Last Today* explains, well, how to get last "with a day of working for the first time."

Given the sheer number of books for the self-help genre is a whole lot to choose from, it's a bit of a challenge to pick a few to review. I've chosen a mix of books that are new, old, and well-known. I've also chosen a mix of books that are new, old, and well-known. I've also chosen a mix of books that are new, old, and well-known.

which place modern works by Anthony Robbins, Ayn Rand and Robert R. Ly along with 19th-century philosopher Schopenhauer's *The Wisdom of Voltaire*, the Bible and the *Shogun* Gospels—draw on respected principles in psychology and philosophy, and are "packed with stuff that could change and deepen a life."

'I'm rich beyond my wildest dreams, I am, I am, I am: how to get everything you want in life!'

much is my fictional work" (an intriguing comparison). The threat of civilisation, he adds, "has always been to get beyond mere survival." Yet the plethora of choices people now face creates a "mass requirement for self-identity" for the first time in history.

At Calgary's new Self Connection bookstore, spirituality and mindfulness are in hot demand, says marketing director Mike Finch. "Stuff that takes vibrations," he adds, like energy healing and vibrations by angels, are also "strong sellers." But extreme self-help isn't. "People are looking for something deeper than superficial niches," notes store owner Maria Skopov. "Self-development is a priority, not a quick fix that comes from one book or seven days."

According to Douglas Tester, a former editor of self-help books for a major U.S. publisher, much of the genre deserves as low-level reputation. While he acknowledges there are plenty of legitimate books about stress management, many self-help writers "make generic toward being imprecise, but they're not. Even though they drop a couple of names, nobody works through any real ideas." In *Not Not Very Impressive: Berlin Steps Away From Self-Help and Toward a Better World* (to be published this month by Richmond, B.C.'s Louisa Press), he takes a satirical shot at one of the genre's central clichés, the idea that your thoughts can build or break your reality. That runs badly, he says, "It's impossible to control

what you can't create a better world, you can create a better you. That's good in some ways, and a political in others. So much of success isn't just bootstrap pulling. It's the network you come out of."

Of course, Ont. lawyer Thomas O'Malley begs to differ. He credits Thomas and Pamela Peasley's *I'm Rich Beyond My Wildest Dreams* (*I Am I Am I Am*) with Every-thing You Want in Life with the 60-per-cent growth in his family and real-estate law business. A regular of *Self* reader, he bought the *Wassau Book*, he says, "because I liked the title and I'm interested in that sort of thing." The methodology, he insists, is sound. "I know for a fact that the fundamental law of attraction—the idea that people tend to be drawn toward the things

they focus on and write down as goals—works. You become what you think about." Shippers of the genre, adds O'Malley, fall into his definition of insanity. "They keep doing the same thing but expect different results."

What's truly crazy, though, are those like Tester, who's currently working on his Ph.D. in English at the University of Minnesota, says that as an editor he found it "disarming" to promote a new self-help book that essentially said the same thing as the last one he put out. "But I'm constantly eating into your own market." Designed to appeal to our innate desires, tales are crucial to differentiating the products. For example, if you can make people like you in 90 seconds, suggests Foster, "they don't have to get to know you—but will love and adore you anyway." On the other hand, *I'm Rich Beyond My Wildest Dreams* (*I Am I Am I Am*) "focuses on a uniquely positive fascination. 'Because I'm interested in making it big,' he says. "The big one—just wealth or comfortable or successful, it's homogeneous." Apparently, they're not willing to waste any time getting there either.

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JANE'S MOTHER-IN-LAW JOKE

A feminist icon is reduced to playing a battleaxe in a cat fight with J. Lo

Dear Jane

Nice to have you back. And not just back, but everywhere. You've taken a soul-searching look in the mirror and seen that dirty yet uplifting mirror, *My Life So Far*. You're starting on your first movie in 15 years. *Mother-in-Law*. And with your new hair—its sedate cut that works both for the towering author and your character essence—you look like the most regal honey blend since Princess Di. In your book, you complain about spending most of your life being “disembodied.” But Jane, you’ve embodied four decades of American culture. In your choice of men alone—from Roger Vadim to Tom Hayden to Ted Turner to Jesus Christ—you’ve embodied the full’s paradise of the sexual revolution, the moral outrage of the anti-war movement, the bravado of the new capitalism and the convenience of self-styled Christianity. As a culture chameleon, and reviving role model, you put Madonna to shame. Even now, as you emphatically repress the “third act” of your life, you’re in step with the times, joining De Niro on the long march to self-affirmation.

As always, Jane, you’re right on the money. And that’s what has me worried. If the new You is the new Us, we’re in trouble.

Here’s the question, After breaking free of *Barbie*, and realizing your years to Vadim didn’t include chromosomes, after deflating erotic empowerment as a call girl in *Kluge*, and making an unlikely leading man of Donald Sutherland, after paying homage to Western vet Gene in *Cooling Down*, and as your dear old dad in *The Golden Rule*—how can you, a child of Old Hollywood reborn as a feminist icon, break a 15-year sabbatical from the screen by making yourself the butt of an extended mother-in-law joke?

I make judgment has never been your forte, and you now regret that whole *Runni* Jane business. But coddling up to the Vixen Corbin is such a bit impish. Making a Hollywood movie is a calculated act. Jane, what were you thinking?

Mother-in-Law is an old-fashioned screwball

comedy on steroids. You’re paired against Jennifer Lopez in a pre-nuptial farce that plays out as a mano a mano fight—a knock-down, drag-out-out duel between old and new symbols of female empowerment. As Viola, the villain of the piece, you appear to be cast as a nightmare version of yourself, an outspoken celebrity with a fragile ego and an inherited fortune. She’s not a movie star, but she might as well be. Viola’s a TV anchor in the Barbara Wilson mold who flips out after losing her job to a young hunk, then

assaults (Wanda Sykes), an insistent version of the unswerving black maid, J. Lo, (near) while, in cast as a paragon of the new, over-friendly feminism—a self-possessed model of conservatism who inadvertently books the perfect man. He’s played by some misquoting hunk called Michael Vartan—you can’t have a male star outgaging the diva—and when he proposes, it’s the first time I’ve ever heard a collective female gang go up in a theatre at the sight of a sincere diamond.

Now Jane, I know what you’re going to say.



As a reviving role model, character Jane (opposite J. Lo) puts Madonna to shame

flips out again when her only son, a hard some target, gets engaged to Charlie, the Latin temp playdilly. Lo. She’s working down heavy clearly destined for greatness (just like) Lo, because when she’s not walking the beach as a dog walker or minding a reception desk, she’s sketching her own brilliant designer halos.

Think about it, Jane. You’re playing a bitter, post-menopausal, white rich bitch who’s continually upbraid by her personal

If only a movie, a harmless conflict. You’ve got a juicy role, and besides, it’s such a risk. Women will love it. But this what all these years of consciousness raising come down to? A slapstick out fight between two alpha females, a Latin doll and a white mother? It has been reported that J. Lo wants to get active in politics and come to you looking for some sign counsel. She said you asked her, “There’s a time and a way to do things. When you’re ready, call me and I’ll tell you what’s right and what’s wrong, so you don’t get yourself in any trouble.”

That’s right, Jane, you tell her.

BEGINNING MAY 12, read from D. Johnson’s reports from the 2005 Cannes Film Festival, www.madonnas.com/cannes

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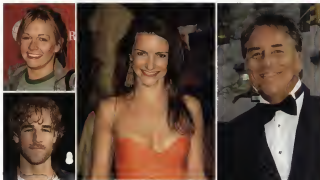


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The first five *3021ERS* from the left: Tim Spelling, Jason Priestley, Shannen Doherty, Brian Austin Green and Luke Perry, went back to their living rooms. John Anderson (far right) plays Spelling's mom in *Wisteria Lane*; Peter Onorati (top) says up as a teacher in a sitcom about gifted students

ANYTHING FOR A HIT

Forgotten stars and wacky premises battle for a prime-time slot

THERE'S A CHANCE that this fall isn't every cast member of *Beverly Hills, 90210* will have their own TV show—and the names Van Dyke Bark (Queen of the Damned), Grell (recurring prime time). Now, before you go and cancel your cable service, rest assured that nothing is certain in TV land. After all, these stars represent a small portion of actors who've signed on to the more than 120 pilots currently being developed by the major U.S. networks. And less than a quarter of these pilots will actually air this fall or in '91. As the rumor books up the names to announce their final schedules (mid-May), here's a guide to what the TV future may hold next season.

THE MCM

As per usual, there are about seven derivative entries, but at least some producers are trying to expand TV's range of professions. In development this year are two plays about fertility doctors, two about real-estate agents and two about pro football players. And then there are a pair of shows about people who don't have to work—losers' winners.

MODERATE PREMISE

Just as Glee's teen talks to God (she's Joan of Arcadia), NBC is considering Book of Daniel. In it, Aidan Quinn plays an Episcopal minister, addicted to prescription drugs, who talks to a big, voicey Jesus

KEYWORDS: *depression, mood, anxiety, stress, coping, self-esteem*

Thanks to the women of *Wisconsin Lanes*, a half dozen or so shows use the words "suburb" or "housewife" or both to describe themselves. One series, co-created by the *Desperate Housewives* helmer, *Soccer Momz* features two home makers, played by **Kirstin Davis** (*Sex and the City*) and **Gina Torres** (*24*, *Alice*), who moonlight as private investigators.

KNOCK-OFF OF A CANUCK PREMISE

The *Comedians*, a CBS pilot about three guys—David Arquette (*Stromboli*), Johnathon Schaech (*That Thing You Do!*) and Jason Wiles (*Third Watch*)—who share a raucous ride to work sounds a lot like *Glitch*'s three old

Melissa Joan Hart clockwise from top left: Kirstie Davis, Dan Johnson, Jennifer Love Hewitt and James Van Der Beek all have new shows—some of which we'll never get to see

MIDST MOUTH-WATERING PILOT

Kitchen Confidential has all the right ingredients. It's about food. It's based on the fabulous/scandalous memoirs of New York chef Anthony Bourdain. And it stars Bradley Cooper, a scene stealer on *Ally* and *Jack O'Banion*, now in his first leading-man role.

MOST WELCOME COMMENTS

Lena Anderson, *Notorious* (a comedy in which she takes on the role of Toni Spelling, mother). Anyone who was part of WKW in Greenwich has residual goodwill with television viewers—even if Anderson's last series was *The Mole*.

Don Johnson, just legal (in which he'll play mentor to a 17-year-old lawyer) The star of *Miami Vice* gets the same courtesym the WOPF gang—and has been known to take advantage of it with shows like *Nash Bridges*.

Sam Elliott and Fred Savage TV has never seen more realistic adolescents than when they Defend on *Wiseguy* and *Inc*

ing Kevin on *The Wonder Years*. Here's hoping they haven't lost their sharp delivery skills now that both are vying to attract a pretty time with *Family Guy*, in *Good Eggs* and *Crembs* respectively.

BATTLE OF THE FORMER TEEN STARS

The 302nd (Lulu Perry, Jason Priestley, Lori Loughlin, Brian Austin Green, Tiffani Thiessen and Sherrylin Doherty) take over from *Party of Five* (Jennifer Love Hewitt). *Dawson's Creek* (Joey Janney, David DeCoteau), *Scrubs* (Jeff Perry, Paul Giamatti) and *Sabrina the Teenage Witch* (Melissa Joan Martin) While last year's winners in this category were the folks from *Party of Five*, it wasn't *Matthew Fox's* runaway hit *Lost* and *Scott Wolf's* addition to the cast of *Alfred*, the year's edge goes to *Gossip Girl*, which made off the final year of *MTV's* *Elite* and is attached to the pilot with the best-sounding premise—*What's a rich kid about a brother he never who runs a Las Vegas wedding chapel?*

TOO GOOD FOR TV

Best, we no longer use the term "dramaturg" when referring to movie stars working on TV. But there are still some talents, like Donald Sutherland, whose elusive poise and larger-than-life presence would be utilized by a weekly visit to our living rooms—even if he's adopting the serious role of Speaker of the House in the postcardinal drama *Commander in Chief* (Geena Davis plays

the title character). And *Peter Dinklage*, one of his generation's finest actors (see *The Station Agent*, now), has signed on to play an unconventional teacher of gifted students in *Trading Bees*. But are screen writers up to the challenge of a dwarf star?

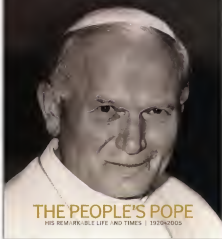
PERSISTENT PILOTE

Score the spotlight came—John and Dreyfus was again in the divorcee sitcom *04 Christine*, even though her last series, *Watch my Ellie*, was anything but watched. Because Wahlberg, the most underrated pop-entrusted actor out there, should have had a huge hit with *Boyz n the Hood* (2002)—the critically lauded L.A. cop drama. He's looking to right that injustice with *NY70*, based loosely on the New York detectives and events in *The French Connection*.

THE MISSING LINKS

Where are aerial priorities John Goodman, Jason Alexander and Rob Lowe this year? And there's barely a non-soldier G.C. warbird in the bunch—even with all the 96210s coming back. When will these stars ever learn: they weren't the ones we farmed out about, it was their weather.

JOHN PAUL II



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MONSTER TRUCK MADNESS

Let's just say that taking my son to a rally was a novel experience

(DON'T HEAR) the question. Amid the background noise of a doorbell ringing, engines roaring on the television, and a kante whistling, I only heard words, or fragments of words, that made up my son's request: "monster" and what I thought sounded like "trik." Calling from the safety of the kitchen to his parking spot in front of the television, I replied, "Sure, Jeremy, we can rent Monsters, Inc. if you want."

Not a word's mentioning Monsters, Inc. that he was interested in. It had apparently agreed to take him to the monster truck jam that rumbles into town every year.

Flooding the Law of Attraction might hold some currency among the fellow lawyers I deal with on a daily basis. But I knew that telling seven-year-old boy that he didn't have an enforceable contract because of my honest misunderstanding of what I'd committed to was a tactic that just wouldn't work. So I took a deep breath, accepted my fate, and put in motion our expedition into the strange world of loud engines, rowdy and unruly spectators, and words that rhyme with truck.

Now, I've been lucky enough to have done some mighty interesting things in my life—ruling Canada the Sahara Desert, scuba diving among sharks in Thailand, and scoring first-run musicals in London and New York City, among them. But this was definitely not the opera.

In that process, pre-pubescent life, among men at a monster truck rally was about as likely as sporting Texas breakfast in the dynamic history section of Chapters. If I were a worried man with a peep on my head, I'd be straight to a monster truck rally. I'd early avoid capture since it's the last place in the universe anyone who has ever known me would expect to find me. It ain't my kinda thing.

But it apparently is the very thing for something like 45,000 fans in the Lower Mainland. Each year, they flock to see revved-up trucks with impossibly huge tires roar wildly through the air over decrepit old Dodge and non-to-be-flipped Plymouths—and the day we were there, a big green school bus.

The stadium swelled with the aerial trail

of dust, hot dogs and what I assumed was an explosive combination of gasoline and plutonium. The sound of the truck engines on "idling" was so loud that experience was surplus to desire and only half of it. I yelled in the direction of my son that the three faces of the moon was so deafening, I wanted us to run to the front row of a Led Zepplin concert for some peace and quiet. "Who's Led Zepplin?" he yelled back.

At every opportunity, we were bombarded with announcements, announcements and commercials on the Big TV Screen. One of the



ads was celebrating the 20th anniversary of the truck Grave Digger. "Anniversary?" my son asked. "Does that mean it's turned to one of the other trucks?"

From what I saw, truck rallies are a lot like WWE matches, where the wrestler plays gloriously to the crowd, wears outrageous costumes (one truck had the body of a minotaur), and where you always know that some beast with a name like Undertaker (or a vehicle called Mega Death) is going to win and the rest of them just have to lose. And I've got to admit it, more of the people

at the rally seemed to love every minute of it. There's something thrilling about the spectacle that brings out the seven-year-old boy in all of us. There are few places on Earth where you can go to watch trucks fly through the air, smash into other vehicles, crash school buses and generally disobey the accepted rules of the road without hearing the words "assault," "hospital" and "police" in the same sentence. Here, it's all just part of the show.

In addition to that, we got a ride-along. I had to explain to my son why the men next to us, behind us and across from us constructively used the F word and generally swore like, well, truckers (many of them are truck drivers, I told him—it's a monster truck rally). Then I had to tell him why other grown men would take off their clothes and run naked on the field and tackled by security (the last set of screaming). And finally, why

a few of the men in various parts of the stadium would start fights with other men (the madness of crowds, I sighed).

Since attending the rally, my son has been going to the school library and just borrowing books on monster trucks and hot rod cars. He said, like some private joke between us, that he wanted to read more about the vehicles to improve his newly expanded (and soon to be corrected) vocabulary.

But the other night, amid a whistling kante, a ringing telephone, and a blaring TV documentary on Hitlerberg, I somehow seemed his interest in monster trucks may be waning. In the usual conjunction of our losses, I didn't quite hear his question, and now I think I may have agreed to take him to a bullfight.

Nothing rhymes with "bullfight," does it?

Tony Wilson is a Maclean's lawyer and writer who contributes a regular humor column for B.C. lawyers in *Barreau Abogado*. To comment, tonywilson@macleans.ca



Minnie Driver finishes John Intini's sentences

Minnie Driver isn't your typical actor who thanks his cast as long as he can. In fact, she was sleeping the club in her hometown of London and landed a recording deal long before her Hollywood career took off in 1995 with *Clueless*. The just didn't have the time, until recently, to finish her debut CD—everything I've put on My Pocket hit stores last fall. Driver, 36, finished Maclean's associate editor John Intini's sentences.

THE LAST TIME I DID SOMETHING I SHOULD HAVE was last month, when instead of going to the hairdresser, I decided to dye my grey hair—which, by the way, I've had since I was 18. I ended up with big red streaks and looked like a clown.

MY FAVOURITE BOARD GAME is backgammon. I have a great travelling version that I play all the time. THE HOLLYWOOD STAR I'VE ALWAYS HAD A CRUSH ON is Daniel Craig. Levels: We were vaguely related when his cousin was married to my aunt. We went to the same school and I used to watch him as all-boys soccer games. AS A KID, I WOULD GET REALLY NERVOUS when I had to go back to boarding school. I'd always throw my shoes out the window or run away. WHEN I DIE I want to be cremated and pushed into the Pacific Ocean on a burning sailboard.

FOR MORE "JOHN INTINI'S SENTENCES" VISIT WWW.MACLEANS.CO/PEOPLE



CONFIDENTIAL DRIVER continues our questionnaire for her about her life and career. A. Intini is with 40 questions and 40 answers. A. Intini is with 40 questions and 40 answers. A. Intini is with 40 questions and 40 answers.

Books | When writers become characters

Audrey Thomas, who will turn 50 later this year, is one of Canada's most highly regarded, if relatively less known, stars. Her fiction depicts a restless intelligence that has taken her to topics as far afield as *Koolhaas* (1999), about an actual young Chinese woman who dropped herself as a man and went to work for the Hudson's Bay Co. in 1886, and now, *Thirteen* is a novel about a fictional character. It's also a story in which Thomas appears as a character who is stalked by one of Thomas's characters for creating fiction in her life. Well, depending on your credulous, sceptical or pedantic reaction, this will sound either intriguing or extremely unappealing. Thomas's edgy at Dickens style isn't always perfect, but the story is absorbing and the responses to the currently hot question of what an author owes real-life models is consistently thought-provoking.



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DROWNING IN THE BILE POOL

There's something unique about how low Canadian politics has sunk

PROBABLY IT WAS TOO MUCH to hope, as Canada's national political leaders left for a trip to commemorate the 60th anniversary of victory in the Netherlands, that the Dutch would simply keep them. No, that good country has already suffered enough.

So the boys are back in Blyssom this week for yet another round of shoves and insults. Wayne will, they are threatening to escape the parliamentary gardens any day now and tear the country, asking that you reward them with your votes for their behaviour.

This is cheeky of them, because what more than a few of your MPs really want these days

is a smack on the ass. I will leave

it to you to judge whether Iley Mark should be created in this group, or whether his various stonemasons, three-dimensional or imaginary, are worse offenders. The other day Mark, the soft-spoken Conservative MP for Dauphin-Swan River, Manitoba, said he'd been called by a Liberal cabinet minister who offered him an ambassadorship or other plum in return for giving up his seat in Parliament and his right to help vote the Green out of government.

Now, there are those who see a Criminal Code offence in an offer of reward for giving up a parliamentary seat. Mark was inserting knowledge of criminal behaviour by a member of the Crown. This made several observers wonder why he wouldn't name the offending minister—why he was, in effect, enabling the phantom minister's malfeasance. According to the phantom minister, I clearly exists outside Iley Mark's imagination.

All of this led the marling minister from Manitoba, Reg Alcock, to engage in law and contemptible insult, because that's pretty much what people do in Parliament these days. "Frankly, if I was going to recruit somebody, I'd go a little higher up the gene pool," Alcock said.

Mark, who was born in China, thought about this overnight and decided to call Alcock a racist. In a formal news conference. Accompanied by several colleagues. Now, any number of issues can apply to a guy who comments about an ethnicity's genetics—



starring deities, perhaps, or scathing past "Racist" is a special word we should reserve for a special class of bad guys, and if we write it on Reg Alcock we devote it for when it's truly needed. Even during a week when phantom cabinet ministers are trying to buy his allegiance, this should be a distinction Iley Mark can make.

But your MPs are so far past the point of distinguishing between proper and disgraceful behaviour that I don't know how we can ever haul them back. Another who could use a good yank is Joe Volpe, the minister of immigration. The other day the spunky Alberta-based newspaperman, the *Western Standard*, ran a cover calling the governing party "The Libmuck," a mix of on-the-down-low television malfeasance, The *Sopranos*. Two Conservative MPs posed for a newspaper photo with the magazine's cover illustration, which features three well-known Italian-Catholic, Pezzi Martin and Jess Christian,

Joe's response? Call people racist. Christians, to be precise, a label he threw, depending on how slowly you care to parse his choice of words, at the entire Conservative Party of Canada and its several million supporters.

The danger, when it gets this bad, is that the temptation to sink to the level the worst of these people set is almost overwhelming. It takes real restraint to hold yourself back from telling you what I think of Joe Volpe. I will point out instead that, barely 24 hours after the Conservatives were mourning about how he is a "race-bater," they were sending Iley Mark out to call Reg Alcock a racist. Welcome to the Parliament of post and berles.

It is instructive that Britain managed to get all the way through an election, and France is well into a referendum campaign on the European constitution, without anybody calling anybody else a member of the Ku Klux Klan. Or a would-be instructive if anyone in our political parties like Iley looking ahead, and then inside. There is something unique about the depth of the bile pool in which Canadian politics is swimming—already, today, before an election campaign even begins.

This is not just sincerely. In at least one of its manifestations, it's gravely dangerous, because members of every national party have taken to calling the others a threat to the very survival of the nation. In Calgary, Stephen Harper said anyone who votes Liberal is "quite frankly, impelling the future of the country." On CTN, Joe Volpe—him again—said Harper is "a more ardent proponent of independence than even Office Dwayne." In Halifax, Jack Layton accused Harper of "getting into bed with the separation."

Those people are going to talk us out of a country before they are done. Shame on them. Shame on them all.

He contacted: lucy@paulwells.ca
Send Paul Wells's mailing, "Racist Wells," at www.paulwells.ca/paulwells

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